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Soviet-U.S. INF Commission Ends Session

LD1907141590 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Geneva July 19 TASS—The Soviet-U.S. special control commission, set up under the INF Treaty for eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles, ended its 7th session here today after dealing with a number of issues related to the treaty's fulfillment.

Karpov Receives U.S. Open Skies Delegate

LD2007013190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The seventh session of the Soviet-American special control commission set up in accordance with the treaty between the USSR and the United States on elimination of medium- and short-range missles ended today in Geneva. During the session a number of issues relating to practical implementation of the treaty were examined.

USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov today received the leader of the U.S. delegation at the international Open Skies Conference, J. Howes. They had a detailed exchange of views on matters concerning the drawing up of agreements at the conference. It was arranged that during preparations for its next stage, the dates of which will be agreed separately, the sides will hold further consultations.

Senate Hearings on Nuclear Test Treaties Begin

PM2007102190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent I. Borisenko dispatch: "Ratification Process Begins"]

[Text] Washington, 18 Jul—The process of ratifying two Soviet-U.S. agreements—the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes—began in the Senate Tuesday. "I regret that it has taken 16 and 14 years, respectively, to win active support for these treaties from the administration," Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, stated when opening the hearings.

The long delay in ratifying these agreements—which limit the yield of underground nuclear tests to 150 kilotonnes—occurred because successive U.S. administrations had reservations about the procedure for monitoring the agreements. The problem was settled after Soviet President M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President G. Bush agreed new protocols on means of monitoring.

The exceptional importance of these measures was pointed out by State Department spokesman Paul Robinson. In his words, these are "unprecedented measures envisaging on-site verification [proverka]." In practice this means that the USSR and the United States are entitled to set up special seismic stations on each other's territory to monitor nuclear test yields. Three Soviet monitoring [slezheniye] stations have been set up in Newport, Washington, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Black Hills, South Dakota. The three U.S. stations will be sited in the Moscow area, the Urals, and Siberia. As P. Robinson noted, although the U.S. aim is ultimately to abandon nuclear testing, this is still a distant prospect. "Tests guarantee the reliability of nuclear weapons, and nuclear weapons guarantee stability in the world," he stated. "Until we work out another formula we will have to stick to this position."

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman informed this TASS correspondent that it is planned to hold another two open sessions and a closed briefing—at which lawmakers will be given intelligence information—to examine the two treaties. The question will then be studied by a special Senate committee on intelligence. The committees will draw up a report on the basis of the results of the hearings and it, together with their recommendations, will be submitted for examination by the full Senate in early September. The procedure for the examination of treaties by the Senate has not yet been determined, but a committee representative expressed the opinion that the ratification process will be completed before the end of the current session of Congress. "Of course, it is too soon to make forecasts," he noted, "but so far none of the speakers at the hearings has made a single objection against the treaties."

Bogachev Views Treaties

LD1907203490 Moscow TASS in English 2018 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS military observer Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—The U.S. Senate has begun the process of ratification of Soviet-U.S. treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear tests and on nuclear tests for peaceful aims.

Dramatic events around the two treaties in the past 16 years clearly reflected waverings in the United States' approaches to arms control as a whole and the evolution of the U.S. position on the complete nuclear arms test ban.

One of the treaties was signed in 1974, the other in 1976. In 1981, the Reagan administration declared its refusal to submit the treaties to the Senate for ratification. Earlier, Washington unilaterally disrupted the trilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain on the full ban on nuclear tests.

The United States responded to the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium of August 6, 1985 by a series of nuclear tests in Nevada. THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper wrote then that the Pentagon tried not to make it seem as if it was interested in banning nuclear tests. Soviet nuclear test sites were silent for 18 months, while the United States and France were the only countries to continue nuclear tests.

Washington admitted that the termination of tests would create reliable barriers to the development of new and improvement of old mass destruction systems. But this was also the reason for the United States' refusal to negotiate the full termination of nuclear tests, to declare a moratorium on nuclear tests and to ratify the 1974 and 1976 agreements.

Only in January 1987, President Reagan sent a message to the Senate informing it of his intention to submit the treaties for ratification. It took Washington three and a half more years to fulfill the promise.

Considerable positive changes have been introduced to the U.S. position on nuclear tests. Soviet and U.S. specialists have successfully tested devices to measure the power of underground nuclear tests.

Protocols on measures to verify the full implementation of provisions of the 1974 and 1976 Soviet-U.S. agreements have been coordinated. The ratification of the treaties by the Soviet Union and the United States will become an important step to nuclear disarmament.

Unfortunately, there are differences in determining final aims of the negotiations on nuclear tests. The Soviet Union considers full nuclear test ban its main aim, while the United States believes the elaboration of measures to control tests would suffice.

U.S. State Department representative Paul Robinson said, "The tests ensure nuclear arms' reliability and nuclear arms ensure stability in the world" and claimed that much time will pass before the full termination of nuclear tests.

Test Ban Committee Marks Progress in Geneva

PM1907092190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by unidentified correspondent: "Will Tests Be Banned?"]

[Text] Geneva—Considerable progress has been made at the summer session of the Disarmament Conference. The setting up of a special committee to ban nuclear tests will be announced on Tuesday at a plenary sitting of the session participants in Geneva's Palais des Nations.

The new conference organ's main task is to prepare an international treaty banning nuclear tests. The special committee, of which all the Disarmament Conference states will be members, is to study the measures required to monitor observance of the future treaty. Certainly, the special committee will consider all existing proposals on banning tests and the experience of work at the talks on an all-embracing ban on nuclear tests which were conducted earlier by the USSR, the United States, and Britain.

The idea of setting up the special committee was repeatedly put forward at the Disarmament Conference, in particular by the socialist countries. Japan, whose delegation put forward a draft mandate for the special committee in the spring, has made a major contribution to promoting the idea. The question of setting it up was discussed by the USSR foreign minister and U.S. secretary of state in Wyoming as one of the main topics for the Soviet-American summit. So it can be said that the establishment of the special committee is the result of joint efforts.

It is true that not everyone contributed equally to the solution of this problem. For a long time the U.S. delegation blocked the setting up of a special committee at the Disarmament Conference, and it was not until June, after the Soviet-American summit, that the Americans finally agreed to it.

A new stage of talks is now starting. At the outset it is necessary to define the framework of a nuclear test ban: whether it will extend to all types of explosions or only to those that have a military purpose. The structure of the system for verifying observance of the future treaty and methods of exchanging data, in particular the results of seismic observations, will be clarified. The treaty participants will obviously have to arrange for computerized information exchange.

Observers in Geneva's Palais des Nations wanted to know to what extent the PRC and France would be participating in the new special committee's work, since they often act alone in their nuclear policy, notably in the sphere of test explosions. According to many observers, the very setting up of the special committee could give momentum to positive changes in the positions of these and other nuclear states.

Nuclear Scientist Mikhaylov Favors Deterrent

PM1907113690 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 90 p 2

[Interview with project leader Professor V. Mikhaylov, by A. Khokhlov; place, date of interview not stated: "Third Generation Bomb"—first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] For the first time in the Soviet press, one of the country's "hawks," project leader Professor V. Mikhaylov, gives an interview.

[Khokhlov] Viktor Nikitovich, you have spent all your life engaged in creating the most devastating, lethal weapons. Do you feel you have lived your life for nothing, in vain?

[Mikhaylov] I was born in 1934. As a boy I saw the horrors of World War II. My father died in 1943 in the Bryansk forests, and a year earlier my elder sister had died of hunger and disease. I took it in with my mother's milk that the defense of the motherland is a man's most sacred cause. "Lofty" words are not in fashion today, but that is really true....

We did not start the nuclear race—it was the Americans. A terrible threat began to loom over our country in 1945. The U.S. monopoly in the sphere of fundamentally new, very powerful armaments also gave them another monopoly over all the peoples of the world—a monopoly of fear. It is to the credit of the Soviet people and their scientists that they succeeded in a surprisingly short space of time, in a poor country almost razed to the ground by the war, to create the antidote to the American bomb.

[Khokhlov] Fine, in the late forties there was a strategic necessity to work on the creation of the bomb. But surely now the improvement of nuclear weapons is contrary to what is now our genuinely peace-loving foreign policy?

[Mikhaylov] Politics is the art of the possible. All slogans can only remain words unless they are backed up by concrete steps toward achieving the goals proclaimed. I am the most peaceful of men, but I am forced to remain in the ranks of the "hawks" as long as there is the slightest threat to the country's security. I feel uncomfortable when I read in the newspapers the profound throughts of esteemed politicians and scientists who assert that unilateral disarmament by the Soviet Union could lead all mankind to a nuclear-free world. That is not true. The Americans have launched series production of artillery shells with neutron warheads, have perfected the "Trident-2" submarine-based missiles, and have carried out more than 30 tests within the framework of the creation of a third generation bomb. Against whom are these weapons targeted? Against Belgium, Nigeria, Mongolia? No, against us....

I find it hard to understand: Why is the Supreme Soviet unwilling or unable to assess this situation, why does the CPSU Central Committee not take steps? There is only one way to a nuclear-free world—the universal banning and destruction of nuclear weapons. Unilateral reduction is the path of a man in darkness, where it is hard to tell how many steps remain to the brink of the abyss—10 or one....

[Khokhlov] After five years of unrestrained euphoria in society, when we have all come to believe irreversibly in the possibility of living in peace, and not in an atmosphere of nuclear hysteria, your words come as a cold shower.... But were not you the leader of the "confidence experiments," for the Soviet side?

[Mikhaylov] Yes, for this purpose I was "declassified" for the first time in 20 years of work, and began to be called by my full name, instead of "Professor M." The "confidence experiments," in my view, are the most important thing to be achieved in the sphere of control of nuclear weapons in all the years of our perestroyka. In 1988 the USSR and the United States took the first real step away from the "blindfold" race to real verification of the achievements of both superpowers in the nuclear confrontation.

[Khokhlov] How were these experiments conducted? TASS gave so much "vague" informaton....

[Mikhaylov] The American scientists proposed the "Cortex" hydrodynamic method of verification. It is based on the fact that after an explosion the ground behaves like a liquid as a result of the shock wave. The yield of the charge can be determined from the speed of progress of the shock wave. The Americans believed that this is the optimum method, providing no opportunity to find out, apart from the yield, anything about the fine structure of the kinetics of the explosion.

You should have seen the faces of the eminent nuclear physicists John Bini [as transliterated] and Chuck MacWilliam, when after the August test in Nevada I told them "on the quiet" that the yield of their explosion was slightly too high! And into the bargain they have still not returned our tapes recording the precise processes. Evidently there are details there that we Soviet people should never have received, according to their calculations....

At first the Americans had a degree of self-satisfaction in relation to us: They know everything, can do everything. After our work together they realized that we were not born yesterday either. Our specialists showed themselves to be professionals of the highest caliber, and our apparatus, which, incidentally, has no parallels in the United States, worked 100-percent reliably. Which could not be said for the American apparatus.

After the 1988 experiments important verification procedures were included in the protocol at the Geneva bilateral talks.

[Khokhlov] All the same, despite all the "confidence" measures, work on improving weapons is continuing in both countries. Can you tell us what the third generation atom bomb is like?

[Mikhaylov] It will be a weapon of directed, selective operation. The possible use of charges of a new type, if they are indeed created in the coming years, will not cause a global catastrophe for all mankind. And that is the greatest danger. It will be a very great temptation for irresponsible politicians who will have the opportunity to "clear" themselves in their peoples' eyes. If you think you can drop a couple of hundred "little bombs" on foreign territory, the enemy is devastated, but for the aggressor there are no consequences....

[Khokhlov] So is mankind doomed? Sooner or later there will be a bomb, ours or theirs. Politics and responsibility to the people are words that are hard to use, except in speeches. Yet we so much want to believe that our children, if not we ourselves, will live in a world without weapons....

[Mikhaylov] A world without weapons is a utopia. At least for several more generations of people. It is hard and painful to be a realist. But throughout our long history, communities of people united to form states have fought one another, by military, political, or economic means, for living space, spheres of influence, and simply a place in the sun. The forms of the struggle have changed, but the essence remains the same to this day.

All the same, I do not think mankind is doomed. I agree with Margaret Thatcher: We can all be saved only by nuclear parity, mutual deterrence in nuclear expansion. I have two granddaughters and a grandson. I want happiness and a peaceful life for them, as much as other people. But I see that the noble goal of achieving a nuclear-free world will not, alas, be reached for a very long time. Mankind can expect a thorny path. In order to ensure the fewest possible surprises, our science must not lessen its efforts to ensure the security of our native land.

[Khokhlov] And that means that our people have to put more and more money into the deep pockets of the military industrial complex? That way, the empty shelves in Soviet stores are not going to disappear in a hurry....

[Mikhaylov] An opinion that is very characteristic of recent years.

The Americans spend half a billion dollars a year on their nuclear test program. Whereas we spend as many rubles as Moscow spends on food in a day.... Just compare it!

[Khokhlov] You will agree, then, that it is hard to understand why approximate nuclear missile parity exists between the world's richest country and our, alas, half-starving state. How, in what terms, do you explain that?

[Mikhaylov] In terms of the Russian character, the Soviet character. Not a material "substance," of course, but....

Do you know what most struck me personally in America, at the Nevada range? Don't bother, you won't guess. The excellent restaurant and the beautiful swimming pool. Yet our nuclear scientists live and work in the most difficult everyday conditions.

I can say with every confidence that all the public money spent on creating the nuclear shield, to the last kopeck, is used for its direct purpose—to protect the people.

[Khokhlov] Forgive me an intrusive question: What wages do you personally receive?

[Mikhaylov] Since becoming deputy USSR minister of nuclear power generation and the nuclear industry, I am registered on the payroll for R800. Until May 1990 I was paid 550. My wife jokes that as a breadwinner, I could not hold a candle to the worst kabob seller on the Riga Market.

[Khokhlov] Apart from your wages....

[Mikhaylov] No need to continue. In terms of the other good things in life, there is an official "Volga," a small two-room apartment in by no means the most prestigious district of the capital, and a dacha plot of six-hundredths of a hectare, where I have only managed to erect a basic living unit—I have no time for anything more.

Call that generous? The Americans told me that a similar specialist in the United States would be worth $300 million a year.

[Khokhlov] Indeed.... Viktor Nikitovich, apart from money, there is an even more gripping human passion—the lust for power. There is a great deal of talk now to the effect that the military-industrial complex holds sway over the state and party in our country. That all the threads of government are in its hands....

[Mikhaylov] There is, of course, a military-industrial complex in the USSR, as in any country of the world. But it did not lead the country or reduce it to its present state. It was "led" itself. And, thank heavens, not very "resolutely." It is simply lucky for the country that the apparatchiks who came up, one after the other, from Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] activist cradles, with their correspondence-course agricultural or pedagogical diplomas, were afraid to push their hairy hands into important science. If the nuclear scientists had also been "issued" with requisitions by the oblast and rayon party committees for "weeding" and "crop rotation".... I would like to believe that after the 28th CPSU Congress the attitude to science will change for the better.

[Khokhlov] So how do you assess the current conversion?

[Mikhaylov] Unequivocally: It is necessary. The military-industrial complex must help the country in difficult times. But in the form in which conversion is currently taking place, it is just another "corn" campaign.

Last year, by an "arbitrary" decision, they gave us a 20 percent cut in resources. Just stop production. Unique equipment and unique specialists can be lost at a stroke, it is the easiest thing in the world to ruin the only sector of industry in the country that is advanced as of today. As if to ridicule us, they set the nuclear scientists to "bail out" the meat and dairy industry. Special quality machine tools are now producing separators....

If only they had let us work out a conversion program, we would have made it a sensible one—instead of trying to grow corn in the Arctic and making aluminum bowls on machine tools with digital program control....

[Khokhlov] Viktor Nikitovich, you are a former country boy who has become a deputy minister, doctor of sciences, professor, and Lenin and State Prize winner. What do you still want from life?

[Mikhaylov] For myself, only one thing—new, interesting work that people need. I want something more for the country. I believe that the times of trouble will come to an end, that society will overcome its growing pains and find a new path in a changing world. But for the time being, be that as it may and whatever may lie ahead, the Soviet nuclear scientists will protect the country and world peace.

[Khokhlov] Thank you for the interview.

'Experts' Begin 'Two-Plus-Four' Talks in Bonn

LD1907114690 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn July 19 TASS—Experts from East and West Germany and the four victors in the Second World War began the "two-plus-four" talks here today.

They will take stock of work on foreign aspects of German unity, a West German Foreign Ministry spokesman told TASS.

Experts will begin work on the final document, which is expected to be submitted to foreign ministers from the six countries at a meeting in Moscow.

The draft, prepared behind closed doors, will take into account the results of the last round of talks between the six foreign ministers in Paris and West German Chancellor Kohl's recent visit to the Soviet Union.

Rogachev Lauds U.S. Policy Change on Cambodia

AU1907115090 Paris AFP in English 1132 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Paris, July 19 (AFP)—Washington's decision to change its Indochina policy and start talks with Vietnam on settling the Cambodian conflict was "a major step in the right direction," Soviet deputy foreign minister Igor Rogachev said here Thursday. In an interview with AFP, he said it was "impossible to picture stability in Southeast Asia without normalisation of the United States with Vietnam and Cambodia."

Mr. Rogachev, who supervises Moscow's Asian policies, said the U.S. switch was a logical consequence of changed attitudes in Congress and the United States towards the Khmer Rouge, and would contribute to Soviet-U.S. understanding in the UN Security Council and ought to make its work more relaxed.

The minister, who headed the Soviet team at the latest session of informal talks on Cambodia by the five permanent members of the Security Council held here Monday and Tuesday, disclosed that Moscow had been informed a change of tack was going to take place, but did not know exactly when. Similar changes had been noted in the European parliament, he added.

The American attitude had been "constructive" during the 25 hours of talks which had started off in a "somewhat pessimistic" mood, Mr. Rogachev said. He felt there was an increasingly pressing need for a meeting of Cambodia's transitional national supreme council.

He said the call by the five Security Council permanent powers for intra-Cambodian dialogue was addressed above all to the Khmer Rouge.

He said Moscow was not backing down on cooperation with its allies in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, but aid was being restructured and decentralised. The Soviet Union would take an active part in providing material support for UN supervisory operations in Cambodia, he added. Mr. Rogachev said China's position on Cambodia had come closer to that of other countries, including the Soviet Union's.

Perfilyev 19 Jul Briefing on World Issues

Nuclear Test Ban Agreement

LD1907153490 Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—The decision by the Disarmament Conference in Geneva to set up a nuclear test ban committee is "exceptionally important," a Soviet spokesman told a briefing here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, confirmed Soviet readiness to facilitate the earliest conclusion of a reliably verifiable international agreement on a complete and overall prohibition of nuclear explosions. The Soviet delegation at the conference has all the necessary instructions to facilitate the attainment of that noble goal in the most active and constructive way, he stressed.

Perfilyev welcomed China's decision to take part in the work of the special committee and expressed disappointment over France's refusal to participate in it.

He expressed hope that the French decision is not final, considering the great importance of this issue for the destinies of peace and international security.

Delors Visit, EEC Aid

LD1907154890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1349 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Report by TASS correspondents]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul (TASS)—The importance of the current visit to the Soviet Union by Jacques Delors, EC Commission chairman, consists in the fact that a plenipotentiary representative has arrived here of the group of western states "that have turned their face" towards the processes of perestroyka in the USSR, that are actually willing to render support in resolving the complicated problems of the Soviet economy," Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, stated at a briefing today.

He expressed the hope that the proposal of the "Common Market" countries to grant the Soviet Union assistance in overcoming economic difficulties will be implemented. The diplomat stated the willingness of the USSR to develop mutual relations with the European Community on the basis of equal rights.

The Soviet diplomat also drew attention to the fact that "political dialogue between the USSR and the system of European political cooperation, including meetings of the USSR minister of foreign affairs and the ministers of the EEC member-states on a collective basis, has been established and is acquiring a regular character". Vadim Perfilyev also called the next step "logical"—the establishment of contacts between the Soviet leadership and the leadership of the European Commission, the exchange of opinions between them on fundamental issues of the development of ties between the USSR and the EEC in the current situation, which is characterized by the rapid change of events in Europe and the world.

Swedish Extradition of Hijacker

LD1907155590 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev today welcomed Swedish authorities' decision to extradite Soviet national Dmitriy Semenov, who hijacked an Aeroflot plane to Stockholm on June 9.

Speaking at a briefing, Perfilyev said: "Air piracy is a grave crime, which often involves loss of life. It must under no circumstances remain unpunished so that every wrongdoer will have to reckon with the inevitability of just deserts for crimes of this kind."

"The problem of air terrorism concerns all countries," the spokesman continued. "This is why the Soviet Union favours joint international efforts to prevent hijacking and promote legal interstate cooperation to prosecute persons whose actions jeopardise safe air traffic."

Perfilyev said that the Swedish side had agreed to turn Semenov over to Soviet justice on several conditions, one being that Semenov would be tried only for a hijacking rather than an illegal border crossing.

"On this and other matters connected with Semenov's extradition, the Soviet and Swedish sides have reached complete understanding," he said.

"Therefore, statements by a number of Soviet agencies, quoted by TASS news service, that during the trial Semenov will also face charges of illegal exit from the USSR do not reflect the official Soviet position and, consequently, are a private opinion of their authors," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"In the Soviet Union it is hoped that this authoritative explanation will remove the concerns that have arisen on the Swedish side and open possibilities for an early resolution of the issue of the two other Soviet hijackers—Mikhailenko and Mokretsov—being turned over to Soviet authorities," he concluded.

ROK Relations

LD1907161490 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev today described Soviet relations with South Korea as dynamically developing.

Speaking at a briefing, he said that despite the absence of a diplomatic relationship, bilateral contacts are increasing between scientists, cultural workers and social organisations.

Consular departments that perform limited consular functions have been set up in Moscow and Seoul to respond to growing citizen exchanges, Perfilyev said. "On the whole, outlook for Soviet-South Korean relations is good," he added.

Asked about Western media reports about an exchange of messages between President Mikhail Gorbachev and No Tae-u, the spokesman said he did not have any information on this score.

El Salvador Talks

LD1907161590 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—The meeting between Yuriy Pavlov, head of the Latin American Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, and Salvadoran Foreign Minister Manuel Pacas in Washington on July 14 was useful, a Soviet spokesman told a briefing here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said the Salvadoran side initiated the first meeting between official representatives of the USSR and Salvador.

He said the meeting primarily focused on the situation around Salvador. The two men agreed about the need for the earliest possible peace settlement in this Central American country.

The Soviet spokesman voiced support for the emerging dialogue between representatives of the Alfredo Cristiani government and leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

Perfilyev said such contacts "are in keeping with the efforts of the world community aimed at the earliest termination of armed confrontation." He also expressed interest in their successful continuation in order to attain peace and stability in the region, in accordance with the Esquipulas and subsequent agreements of Central American presidents.

Lebanon's National Accord Charter

LD2007092190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul (TASS)—The charter of national accord adopted by the Lebanese ministerial cabinet on

11 July proves a good opportunity for real forward progress toward restoring unity, order, and peaceful life in this Arab country. That was what Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information directorate had to say during a briefing today about the program of the legitimate authorities in Lebanon aimed at reconciling Lebanese people and normalizing the situation in the country.

The USSR hopes, noted the Soviet diplomat, that all sides in Lebanon, regardless of their political and religious convictions, will respond to the program with feelings of good will and responsibility for the fate of the homeland.

Perfilyev Goes to UN Information Department

LD1907224290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1447 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Moscow, 19 July (TASS)—TASS correspondents report from the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry press center. [passage omitted]

During the briefing Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, said that Vadim Perfilyev has been transferred to another job in the United Nations Public Information Department in New York.

Gorbachev Receives Congratulations on Election

PM1907083990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Congratulatory Telegrams"]

[Text] In connection with his election as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade M.S. Gorbachev is receiving telegrams from party and soviet organizations and from individual citizens. The messages convey cordial congratulations and best wishes.

Telegrams have also been sent by:

Saifuddin Ahmed Maniq, general secretary of the Communist Party of Bangladesh Central Committee;

Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party;

Rigoberto Padilla Rush, secretary general of the Communist Party of Honduras; Carlos Arita Valdivieso, leader of the Movement of Revolutionary Popular Unity; and Wilfredo Gallardo, leader of the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers-Honduras;

Kharilaos Florakis, chairman of the Political Committee of the Coalition of Left-Wing and Progressive Forces and chairman of the Greek Communist Party Central Committee;

Guy Spitaels, chairman of the Union of Socialist Parties of EC Countries;

Robert Gabriel Mugabe, president and first secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front and president of the Republic of Zimbabwe;

E.M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the Indian Communist Party (Marxist) Central Committee;

Mohit Sen, general secretary of the All-India Communist Party;

Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the State of Cambodia;

Spiros Kiprianou, former president of the Republic of Cyprus and chairman of the Democratic Party;

Vasos Lisaridhis, party chairman of the [Cypriot] Unified Democratic Union of the Center (EDEK);

George Hawi, general secretary of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee;

Abdoulaye Bathily, secretary general of the Democratic League-Labor Party Movement of Senegal;

Amath Dansoko, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Independence and Labor Party of Senegal;

Abdou Diouf, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Senegal;

the Central Guiding Council of the Republican Turkish Party [Cyprus].

Telegrams are continuing to arrive.

More Congratulations

PM1907134590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Congratulatory Telegrams"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev is still receiving congratulatory telegrams on his election to the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee from party and soviet organizations and citizens. Messages sent from abroad convey cordial congratulations and very best wishes and express the desire to further develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The following, in particular, have sent telegrams:

Major Pierre Buyoya, president of the Republic of Burundi and chairman of
the Military Committee for National Salvation;
Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt;
Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia;
The Palestinian Communist Party Central Committee;
Ion Iliescu, president of Romania.

Telegrams are still arriving.

Falin Receives Perestroyka Supporters

PM1907133790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jul 90 Second Edition p6

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 17 July V.M. Falin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received members of the leadership of the international "Action Perestroyka" organization, S. Linnander and S. Klyaynkhammes [names as published].

During their conversation, the guests gave information on this social organization's multifaceted activity aimed at supporting the perestroyka policy in the Soviet Union.

UN Acceptance of Chernobyl Aid Plan Welcomed

PM1907111390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by G. Charodeyev under the general heading: "'We Are Not Alone in Our Grief'"]

[Text] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V. Petrovskiy addressed a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center. He said that our country regards as profoundly symbolic the consensus approval by the UN Economic and Social Council [ECOSOC] session of the resolution "International Cooperation in Overcoming the Aftermath of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station." It was a practical demonstration of the possibility of a broad approach to international cooperation that is not associated with ideology or any bloc considerations, of the idea of collaboration among states on the basis of the principles of common human values and new political thinking.

It has to be said that the Chernobyl situation remains very serious at the present time, the deputy minister continued. The scale of the current and planned health and rehabilitation work is so great and has such an extensive timeframe that to expect to be able to carry it out entirely through our own efforts would be not only arrogant, but also inhuman, from the viewpoint of the need to restore to health the thousands of people affected in one way or another by the accident.

Of course, in order to make the resolution really effective, we have to formulate our specific needs in terms of international aid, both from the viewpoint of specific items and on a bilateral state basis. It is important that this work should be done in a coordinated manner and be based on the carefully gauged, real potential of special UN institutions. In order to be able to define the specific parameters of cooperation we will very likely have to be prepared to accept international experts, as is usual in the practice of interstate contacts. Such contacts would result in a comprehensive plan of action exploiting the potential of all international organizations. It should be borne in mind that this immense preparatory work has to be completed very quickly so that the UN secretary general can present detailed recommendations on international efforts on Chernobyl to the General Assembly 45th session.

One must point out here, V. Petrovskiy said, the importance of coordinating efforts between all-Union structures and the corresponding organs of the three union republics most affected by the tragedy—the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Ukrainian SSR, and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. The committee to eliminate the aftermath of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station accident, recently set up under the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies, has an important part to play in this. The people's deputies who participated in the ECOSOC working session could make a major contribution, in view of the urgent need to set up a parliamentary group (involving the Supreme Soviets of the USSR, Belorussian SSR, Ukrainian SSR, and RSFSR) on the whole range of Chernobyl issues.

Nikolayev on Proposed Asia-Pacific Region Forum

OW2007083990 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 8 Jul 90

[Commentary by Nikolayev from the "World Today" program]

[Text] Why did both the Soviet Union and Japan propose a multilateral forum to discuss the major issues in the Asia-Pacific Region? In reply to the question posed by a KYODO reporter the other day, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev expressed his views as follows:

This Soviet diplomat suggested that besides the Soviet Union and Japan, the United States and China should also participate in this forum.

Our station commentator Nikolayev pointed out: Recently, people in Tokyo also called for organizing a meeting with due representation from countries which are interested in improving the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. For instance, Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu said that he would be prepared to welcome the convening of an international conference to discuss the problems in the Asia-Pacific region, while the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Nakayama maintained that a forum of foreign ministers from Asian countries be held. This is a good sign. One should know that, not long ago, Japanese officials had held a negative attitude on the proposal to hold group discussions on regional problems. They asserted that before Asia commenced with the process similar to what had taken place throughout Europe, the problems in the region as well as the conflicts between nations in the region should be solved. Currently, the emphasis has apparently begun to shift. At least, this is manifest from the open statement of the Japanese officials.

Is there any prerequisite then for building a peace-loving group in Asia? I think there is. It is not only because relations between many countries have been normalized or somewhat improved in recent years, and the flame of conflict is gradually being put out as they move toward military detente, but also what is of equal importance is that people have noted that, in order to gradually bring the situation to a healthy state, unilateral propositions and efforts, however resolute they may be, are obviously inadequate.

The task for the near to distant future is to widely make the nations in the Asia-Pacific region march together in the direction of peace and common prosperity. The Soviet Union already realized this truth several years ago. This is reflected in the well-known proposal put forward by Gorbachev when he spoke in Vladivostok, Krasnoyarsk, and Beijing. Perhaps this is because our country has all along been an active participant in the Helsinki process which has exerted such a good influence in Europe. Obviously, Moscow believes that the experience in the European process is educational. However, it has no intention to impose the ready-made formula for the security of Asia on other countries, but would rather call upon the nations in the Asia-Pacific region to jointly participate in the formulation of the security for all Asia. The proposal to hold a four-nation forum including the Soviet Union, Japan, the United States, and China, put forward by the Soviet deputy foreign minister in reply to the question from the KYODO reporter, is also in keeping with this principle.

It goes without saying that the prudent plan for holding multilateral negotiations on Asia-Pacific regional problems will be quite different. We are prepared to discuss any plans; the important thing is that we should start discussing and go into action.

Effectiveness of PRC, U.S. Dialogues Viewed

OW1807204390 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 28 Jun 90

[By station observer Mitin]

[Text] Dear listeners, you may already know that the USSR has been following the principles of new political thinking in its foreign policies. One of these principles is that all problems of international relations, including the most acute ones, can be solved only through political dialogue. The practice of international relations has positively proven the effectiveness of this viewpoint, which has gained wider acceptance. Mitin, our station observer, will comment on this topic.

Dear Chinese listeners, how are you? First of all, I wish to refer to the great changes in Sino-Soviet relations. Since Gorbachev's visit to China in May of last year, these relations have been normalized completely. These events are important historically because they are firm foundations for the development of good-neighborly relations.

In order to clean up historical filth, both sides have shown circumspection, farsightedness, and a sense of responsibility. They also have made persistent efforts. That the USSR and China are capable of these accomplishments is proof of the effectiveness of political dialogue. Relations with China have special significance in the USSR. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev recently told a reporter of this station that, of all of the important tasks of the Soviet Union, relations with China constitute an area of unique value that will not disappear under any circumstance.

Aware now of the effect of political dialogue, we also should mention the changes in Soviet-U.S. relations. The Soviet-U.S. summit held in late May and early June again demonstrated that both countries have faithfully followed the principle of holding dialogue, hence the new major successes. For example, negotiations at the summit resulted in an agreement on the major articles of the treaty on drastically reducing strategic weapons in the future. There is every reason to believe that this treaty will be signed this year. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen highly commended this fact recently.

We know that international relations are progressing rapidly toward normalization. However, we must not forget that many acute and dangerous problems in the world, including in the Asia-Pacific Region, still need to be solved. We believe that all of these problems also can be solved through political dialogue.

France, Japan Differ on Aid to USSR

LD1907150590 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Varlamov]

[Text] Tokyo July 19 TASS—"Several serious problems have emerged in relations between France and Japan on which open misunderstandings are evident," French Prime Minister Michel Rocard said in the run-up to his visit to Japan which began today.

Rocard will meet Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, leading politicians and top business executives. The program of Rocard's four-day stay in Japan also envisages the audience with Emperor Akihito.

This visit is seen as an event of particular importance. It is the first time that a French prime minister has visited Tokyo for 14 years. The meeting of the prime ministers of the two countries, both members of the Big Seven, is being held right after the recent Houston summit at which France adopted a stance on aid to the USSR and China opposite to that of Japan.

At one with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, President Francois Mitterrand, who represented France at the summit, favoured lending financial support to the USSR and opposed lifting sanctions against China imposed by western countries after the events of Tiananmen Square in 1989.

Kaifu announced Tokyo's refusal to give financial aid to the USSR and made it clear that Japan intended to resume credits to China. Interest in Rocard's visit is being heightened by local press reports that Rocard does not share Mitterrand's views, at least those concerning the Soviet Union.

Local commentators list the problem of France's deficit in trade with Japan, which according to Kyodo Tsushin amounts to 29 billion francs, among the differences that are sure to emerge during the talks.

The recent statement by French Minister for European Affairs Edith Cresson that "Japanese expansion, the accurate blows of which are like exposure to a laser beam, killed outright several French industries," specifically the electronic industry", is also evidence of increased trade and economic differences between Paris and Tokyo. [quotes as received]

In response to this, the Japanese Foreign Ministry threatened that the interest of local businessmen in investing capital in an unhospitable economy of the partner may decline.

Accord on Germany Clears Way for 'New Europe'

PM2007092390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Morning Edition p4

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA special correspondents Yu. Kovalenko, M. Yusin under the rubric "Panorama of International Life": "Success of Meeting Was Predetermined; Next Round of 'Two-Plus-Four' Talks to Be Held in Moscow"]

[Text] Paris—"The German problem is essentially solved. The last page of the 'cold war' has been turned. The participants in the Paris meeting share the opinion that a united Germany will decide its place in Europe itself...." These words were spoken by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, addressing a press conference on the conclusion of the latest round of "two-plus-four" talks held in Paris on 17 July.

Similar optimism and satisfaction with the results of the consultations were heard in the speeches of all seven ministers attending the meeting with journalists at the International Conference Center on Avenue Kleber.

The Paris round of talks ended in unqualified success, and essentially there were no serious differences of opinion on any of the questions discussed. But just a week ago few people could have supposed that the scenario of the talks would be like this. Now, however, after the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and Chancellor H. Kohl at which accords were reached on key issues, this result seems perfectly natural and almost predetermined. This was also remarked on by Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze in his address at the conference: "Much of what just a month ago seemed to be nothing more than a bold fantasy is now becoming reality.... To our credit, we have had enough political wisdom to approach the problem of German unification as part of a broader, loftier task: the transition to a new state of peace and new relations among states."

Ministers are calling the settlement of the Polish-German border question one of the main results of the Paris talks. On the eve of the meeting, the press forecast that precisely this problem would prove to be the stumbling block and that confrontation between Warsaw and Bonn could hardly be avoided. Their predictions were unfounded, however. The ministers successfully overcame this barrier and eventually agreed to a proposal that suited everyone more or less.

The FRG has pledged that, immediately after unification, the German parliament will ratify the proposed border treaty guaranteeing the inviolability of Poland's western borders. In its turn, Warsaw is no longer insisting that this ratification take place immediately, without waiting for the two Germanies to merge.

Polish Foreign Minister K. Skubiszewski informed journalists about another accord reached in Paris with H.-D. Genscher. The sides have agreed to hold a Polish-German meeting by the end of the summer that will mainly be devoted to economic issues.

Journalists again raised the question of whether nuclear weapons are going to be stationed on German soil. The FRG and GDR representatives confirmed their stand: namely, that a united Germany will remain a nonnuclear power. "I generally believe that the security of Europe can be safeguarded without nuclear weapons," GDR Foreign Minister M. Meckel said in this connection.

The participants in the meeting agreed that the next round of "two-plus-four" talks will be held in Moscow on 12 September. It is possible that this round will be the last, as fewer and fewer differences remain among the "Group of Six." Before the start of the Moscow talks it is planned to hold a series of expert consultations, which will mainly be concerned with resolving technical questions.

In the general opinion of observers who have been covering the Paris meeting, the solution of the German problem will have enormous significance for the future of our continent. "Now it will be possible to build a really new Europe," the newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS believes. All the conditions now exist for a speedy conclusion to the Vienna talks and a successful all-European summit meeting in Paris in November this year.

Effects of German Financial Union Examined

90UF315A Moscow EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN in Russian No 27, Jul 90 p 19

Article by A. Kondakov, candidate of economic sciences: "FRG Plus GDR: A New Superpower?"]

[Text] **The signing of the state treaty between the GDR and the FRG for the creation of a currency, economic, and**

social union and its ratification by the parliaments of the two countries (the treaty is to go into effect on 1 July 1990), did not stop the discussions of the ways for and prospects of inter-German unification. With all the diversity of opinions, one can arbitrarily single out two main areas around which the polemics revolve—the optimistic and the moderate.

Representatives of the former (they include the majority of members of the leading coalitions in the GDR and the FRG) think that the forced creation of a currency and economic union even in the near future will result in a kind of "new economic miracle" for the GDR and will rapidly produce appreciable benefits for its citizens. Describing the conditions of the treaty, GDR Prime Minister L. de Maiziere in particular stated that in spite of the actual loss of the economic sovereignty of the GDR, no other country in East Europe had such favorable initial conditions for changing over to a market economy.

In the words of FRG Minister of Economics H. Haussmann, the German currency and economic alliance will be a "most profitable capital investment" for the FRG as well. It will add powerful impetus to the development of West German industry and banking and will lead to a prolonged upsurge of economic activity in the country. This view is shared by FRG Finance Minister T. Waigel, who thinks that the money for financing this project can be obtained through reorientation of the federal budget without an increase in federal taxes.

Underwater Reefs of the "Union"

Representatives of the moderate camp point out the high economic and social costs of the unification process. A "large uncontrollable experiment" with rapid annexation of the GDR to the FRG, in the opinion of scholars of the Berlin Institute of International Politics and Economics, may result in the collapse of a considerable part of the GDR economy which, without the protection provided by its own currency with its low exchange rate, could lose the remnants of its ability to compete on the world market.

The conclusion of such a "union" is also fraught with other hidden dangers. From 20 to 25 percent of the work force who have fallen—to use the figurative expression of one West German magazine—"out of the frying pan of unrealistically planned socialism into the fire of the real capitalist market economy," will have no work. Aggravation of social tension can also be expected because of the problem of legality of property relations that developed in the GDR after World War II. All this could lead to a new wave of migration from the eastern regions of Germany to the western ones.

The FRG economy cannot avoid the serious consequence of the process of creating a unified Germany either. According to calculations by foreign economists, financial support for this process during the next 10 years will require from the Federal Government at least from 500 billion to 1 trillion FRG marks. Approximately the same sum will have to be mobilized through private capital.

Many experts have justifiable doubts about ability of the Federal Government to take on all the costs of unifying Germany. The fact is that the financial injections Bonn plans to give in this connection (during the next five years 115 billion marks have been allotted for this purpose) could cause a deterioration of the federal budget, an increased deficit, strengthening of the processes of inflation, an appreciable deterioration in the FRG balance of payments, and a drop in the exchange rate of the mark.

This prospect evokes a great deal of concern from FRG citizens, which is shown by the results of a recent poll conducted by DER SPIEGEL magazine. Of those questioned 80 percent think that the creation of a German currency and economic union will be reflected negatively here. And the victory of the opposition in last May's parliamentary elections in the areas of Northern Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony are regarded as a warning to H. Kohl that the citizens of the FRG, while supporting the idea of the unification of Germany, still are not prepared to forfeit their material well-being for the sake of this.

As concerns the more distant future, here the situation will apparently develop in a way that is more favorable for both German states. The problems related to the initial period of currency and economic integration will gradually be resolved, creating conditions for economic growth and a strengthening of Germany's position in the world economy. As a result the processes of German reunification could, by the beginning of the next century, lead to the formation of a new economic superpower with a population of almost 80 million, with the third largest GNP in the world, and with the second largest volume of exports.

In the words of NEWSWEEK, "Both of the old superpowers, bending under their heavy expenditures on their military commitments, and bothered to one degree or another by economic stagnation, will be joined at the political summit by the greedy and miserly trade machines—Japan and now also Germany, one of which holds sway over the Pacific Ocean region and the other which has saddled Central Europe. The countries which suffered defeat in World War II could come out of the cold war as the economic and political winners.

What Will the USSR Encounter

The creation of a unified Germany, which will account for almost one-fourth of the economic potential of West Europe, will obviously lead to the destruction of the sensitive postwar balance of forces on the continent and introduce qualitatively new aspects into the nature and mechanism of times between its eastern and western parts.

Since the GDR and the FRG are our largest economic partners in Europe, this could have serious consequences for the USSR as well. Thus with the introduction of the West German mark as a unified currency and the changeover of the GDR to a market economy, there will arise a real threat of destruction and liquidation of many combines and other enterprises oriented toward delivering products to the USSR. Above all this will affect the material-intensive branches of machine building, the delivery of whose products the USSR is interested in preserving (shipbuilding, railroad car construction, equipment for the chemical, light, and food industry, and so forth). Suffice it to say that the GDR now accounts for more than 90 percent of USSR imports of passenger railroad cars; of trawlers—80 percent; of the forge and press equipment—70 percent; of cranes and equipment for the oil refining industry—60 percent; and of agricultural and printing machines—more than 40 percent.

Along with the forthcoming reorientation of a number of other enterprises and branches with close ties to our country toward cooperation with West German firms, this can have a negative effect on the GDR's fulfillment of its commitments to the Soviet Union. We should also take into account the extension to its territory of customs norms and rules in effect in the European Community (EC). Under these conditions it will be possible for them to refrain from purchasing a number of goods previously delivered to the GDR (machines and equipment, rolled ferrous metals, coke, pipes, iron ore, and so forth), which will make it practically impossible to preserve the existing volumes and structures of our commodity turnover with this country.

The limited financial capabilities of the restored German states will obviously condition their active policy with respect to mass enlistment of foreign capital in the form of investments, loans, and credit. Taking into account the considerable growth in the demand for financial resources from Third World countries, East Europe, and a number of Western countries, which is predicted for the current decade, this will considerably aggravate the competitive struggle in the international arena for capital and will increase the cost of credit. The forthcoming "era of costly capital" could considerably limit our capabilities for mobilizing foreign financial resources.

Finding an Adequate Response

On the other hand, the processes of German reunification objectively lead to increasing the role of a unified Germany as our largest partner on the European continent. They open up the possibility, based on existing ties with the GDR, of essentially expanding cooperation with the FRG, which is also interested in using the GDR as a base for expanding its presence in the Soviet market.

Taking into account the influence of the future unified Germany in the EC, the arrangement of full-fledged cooperation with it would be one of the main channels for expansion of our business contacts with European companies. Moreover, the development of effective economic interaction with both parts of Germany could be used to provide for greater compatibility of the USSR economy with the European economic structures.

On the whole much in our relations with the future unified German state will depend on our flexibility and our ability not only to neutralize negative aspects related to the unification of Germany but also to gain certain advantages from this. An adequate response from the USSR on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis could contribute to the formation of a more favorable balance of positive and negative tendencies that are accompanying the process of German unification.

European Trade Union Official on East-West Ties

90UF0338A Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 Jul 90 p 3

[Report on interview with V. Bergans, chief of the press and information division of the European Trade Union Conference, by TRUD Brussels correspondent V. Boykov; place and date not given: "A Bridge or a Curtain?"]

[Text] Brussels, 16 Jun—At the last executive committee meeting of the European Trade Union Conference (ETUC) a decision was made to initiate a Europe-wide trade union dialogue. To this end it is being proposed that a European trade union forum be conducted. Our Brussels correspondent, V. Boykov, met with the chief of the ETUC division for press and information, V. Bergans, and asked him to comment on this idea.

"Radical changes are taking place in Europe," V. Bergans said. "The process of integration has accelerated in the western part of the continent. But while in West Europe there is evolution, in East Europe there is a real revolution.

"The changeover to a market economy, the appearance of joint enterprises, and the invasion of Western corporations such, say, as McDonalds and Coca-Cola are creating a mass of problems that are new to trade unions of the East but are familiar to us: what to do about unemployment and inflation, how to fight social dumping, and so forth.

"All this shows the need to begin a Europe-wide trade union dialogue at which it would be possible to exchange opinions on a broad range of issues and also experience in protecting the interests of the workers."

[Boykov] Where and when will the European trade union forum be held.

[Bergans] We are aiming for January of next year. The location of the forum has not yet been selected. It could be Brussels or Vienna or Prague.... So far we have neither an agenda nor a list of participants. All these questions will be decided during the consultations with interested parties which have already begun. Our delegations have already visited Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. For the time being we have decided to hold off on trips to Poland, the USSR, and the GDR.

[Boykov] Why?

[Bergans] The Polish Solidarity movement maintains close contacts with Western trade unions and we are well aware of its views. The GDR has entered on the path of unification with the FRG and therefore we considered it reasonable to wait until the German picture becomes clearer. The Soviet trade unions are having a congress in the fall. It too should clarify a great deal....

[Boykov] As far as I know, there are forces in the world trade union movement which would like to isolate the USSR and not build a bridge but drop an "iron curtain," moving it from the German-German border to the Soviet-Polish border. Are these not the forces that are behind postponing consultations with Soviet trade unions?

[Bergans] By no means. We want to build a bridge of cooperation and not raise new obstacles. The European trade union forum will be open to all independent democratic trade union centers of our continent. It cannot be ruled out that it will become a permanent forum and in the future we shall Manage to build a Europe-wide trade union structure on its basis. It all depends on us, on the trade unions of East and West Europe.

Comparison of Shevardnadze, Woerner Speeches

PM1807152990

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 15 July 1990 in its Moscow Edition on page 3 carries a TASS report on the 14 July Moscow talks and luncheon speeches of USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnazde and NATO Secretary General M. Woerner. The IZVESTIYA item, entitled "E.A. Shevardnadze's Meeting With M. Woerner," has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Russian version published in the 16 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 4-7, revealing the following variations:

Page 4, column one, paragraph one, sentence one begins: [Text] A meeting took place in Moscow 14 July between E.A. Shevardnadze... (deleting dateline, rewording)

Column two, paragraph three, sentence one reads: ...NATO secretary general. E.A. Shevardnadze and M. Woerner exchanged speeches.

E.A. Shevardnadze's Speech

Esteemed Mr. Secretary... (rewording, adding subhead)

Same column, paragraph five, last sentence reads: ...is this surprising—the course of world events also depends to a great extent on what turn events in the Soviet Union will take.

The main result... (rewording)

Page 5, column two, third full paragraph, last sentence reads: ...cooperation in Europe.

M. Woerner's Speech

Esteemed Mr. Foreign... (rewording, adding subhead)

Page 6, column one, first full paragraph, last sentence reads: ...as it is unthinkable now between many former... (rewording)

Same column, last paragraph, sentence four sentence reads: ...nuclear artillery shells from Europe in response to... (adding "from Europe")

Same sentence reads: ...mind this aim during the signing of... (adding "during")

Column two, fourth full paragraph, sentence three reads: ...order of peace. However, the name of the precise... (rewording)

Same paragraph, last sentence reads: ...its life and essence.

The Atlantic alliance... (substituting "essence" for "existence")

United States & Canada

U.S. Withdraws Support for Cambodia's Khmer Rouge

LD1907105190 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Berezhkov]

[Text] Washington July 19 TASS—Changes in U.S. policy in Cambodia announced by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Paris on Wednesday reflect a growing understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union on regional issues, according to a senior White House official, who asked not to be identified.

The shift includes a decision to withdraw U.S. support at the United Nations for the seat occupied by the Cambodian guerrilla coalition that includes the Khmer Rouge, and opening talks with Vietnam.

The Soviet Union and the United States have agreed that neither side can win the war in Cambodia and that only a free election offers the best solution, the official said. The United States is also against the U.N. seat being filled by the Phnom Penh government. In addition, the U.S. Administration intends to put pressure on the Congress to secure aid for anti-government groups.

Three weeks ago the special senate committee on intelligence voted to end the $13 million covert military aid to the Cambodian opposition.

Talks with Vietnam on a Cambodian settlement will be held in New York, the official said. The U.S. delegation will be led by Under-Secretary of State Ken Quinn.

The U.S. is also discussing direct talks with the Phnom Penh government, but only if this helps achieve free and fair elections in Cambodia.

Senate Majority leader George Mitchell called previous U.S. policy in Cambodia a total flop, urging the administration to implement a more radical policy than that suggested by Baker. Increasing military actions fo the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia require urgent measures, including direct talks with the Cambodian Government, he said. Senator Alan Cranston has also called on the Bush administration to begin talks.

Signifies 'Radical' Shift in Policy

LD1907152590 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Commentary by Oleg Shchedrov—read by announcer]

[Excerpts] The statement by the American Secretary of State James Baker about the establishment of a direct dialogue with Vietnam on problems of a settlement in Cambodia has been taken as a real sensation. The United States and Vietnam haven't had any official contact since the middle of the seventies. Mr Baker attributed this radical shift in America's Indochina policy to the unwillingness to let the Khmer Rouge grouping return to power in Cambodia. [passage omitted]

The American secretary of state also pointed out that under certain conditions Washington was prepared to establish direct contacts with the Cambodian government. Vietnam has welcomed Mr. Baker's initiative. It has been backed up in principle by American legislators. Some influential Congressmen feel, however, that today to heed this initiative would not be enough. [passage omitted]

Skeptics claim that America's shift may turn out to be useless if China, the main sponsor of the Khmer Rouge grouping, goes ahead with its support of the opposition. They call attention to the recent statement made by Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Xu Dunxin about Beijing's adherence to the policy of support for the Cambodian opposition. The considerations of skeptics deserve special attention if viewed against the background of the Cambodian opposition's reaction to Mr. Baker's initiative. One of its leaders, Norodom Ranaridh, had declared that it may push the Son Sen and Sihanouk groupings, presently oriented towards the West, to closer ties with Beijing. [passage omitted]

It should be stated that such a prospect does exist but in view of the unseemly reputation enjoyed by the Khmer Rouge it's hard to suppose that Son Sen and Sihanouk will be eager to receive aid from the same source. Yet Washington's decisive step, announced by Mr. Baker, is bound to help isolate Khmer Rouge and thus make the situation in Cambodia more stable in the long run.

In any event it shows that the forces involved in the process of a settlement in Cambodia are beginning to show political flexibility and realism and this is already a lot, our commentator Oleg Shchedrov writes in conclusion.

Changed Superpower Ties Began 'New Thinking'

LD1907175690 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS political commentator Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow July 19 (TASS)—The art of politics consists not only in avoiding mistakes but also in recognizing errors made and rectifying them—as was evidenced by James Baker's statement on changes in the U.S. stance towards peace settlement of the Cambodian issue.

The United States officially recognised that its unconditional support of the three-partite opposition and refusal to deal with Phnom Penh and Hanoi governments was counter-productive. It played into the hands of the Khmer Rouge, whose sole aim is to force their way back in order to dominate the country.

Washington is, at long last, taking steps in the right direction by refusing to recognise the right of the opposition coalition to represent Cambodia in the United

Nations as long as it includes Khmer Rouge representatives, by expressing readiness to begin direct dialogue with Vietnam in order to restore peace in Cambodia and by declaring its willingness to consider the possibility of holding—"in due time"—direct talks with the Phnom Penh government.

Senate Democratic majority leader George Mitchell stressed that in order to achieve peace in the region it was necessary to go further than that, because the changes announced by Washington were not radical enough.

They failed to curtail American arms supplies to Son Sann and Norodom Sihanouk opposition groups, who, according to their own repeated statements, share supplies with Khmer forces.

The senator said that groups headed by these politicians were not fighting against Khmer Rouge forces but rather were allied with them against the Phnom Penh government.

Mitchell's views on this score are shared by Alan Cranston and other U.S. senators. It was explained in Washington that U.S. policy changes towards Cambodia were prompted by the fear that the Khmer Rouge could return to power.

However, the U.S. allocate money for undercover military aid to anti-government groups, which facilitated the re-emergence of the ominous Khmer Rouge cloud over the Cambodian people.

A high-ranking administration official admitted in Washington that U.S. policy changes with regard to the peace settlement in Cambodia resulted from growing mutual understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning regional issues.

He said the Soviet Union and the United States agreed that no one could win the war in Cambodia and reached a common understanding that free elections would provide the best way out of the present situation.

Refreshing winds of new political thinking have brought new impulses to stale regional disputes. A few years ago, in an atmosphere of confrontation, any regional conflict exacerbated East-West confrontation.

Nowadays, a new approach is gaining the upper hand, that refuses to view regional conflicts as part of the two superpowers' rivalry. New political thinking led the two superpowers to the understanding that an end must be put to conflicts as soon as possible, not on the battlefield but by political means, through negotiations.

May Contribute to Cambodia's Stability

OW1907223790 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Unattributed commentary: "A Breakthrough in U.S. Cambodian Policy"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Baker's statement on holding a dialogue with Vietnam with regard to the settlement of the Cambodian issue has become headline news. There have been no official contacts between the United States and Vietnam since the middle of the 1970's. Baker explained that this change in U.S. Indochinese policy is intended to prevent the Khmer Rouge from ruling Cambodia again.

During its rule over Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge committed the crime of genocide. Recently, they have stepped up combat activities on the Cambodian front, including areas near the country's capital. According to Vietnam's representative to the United Nations, the Khmer Rouge's threat is realistic and serious.

Baker suggested that, as its first contribution to the dialogue, the United States should withdraw its support for the seat of the Coalition Government of Cambodia in the United Nations. Besides the Khmer Rouge, there are two other groups in the Cambodian coalition government; namely, the Sihanouk group and the Son Sann group, both of which receive assistance from Washington. Baker said that the assistance will continue, but admitted that it is encountering increasing congressional resistance. Baker added that, under certain conditions, Washington is willing to make direct contact with the Cambodian government. Vietnam welcomes Baker's proposal. U.S. lawmakers also support it in principle. However, some influential congressmen point out that the proposal is not enough. Some of them are calling for a direct dialogue with Phnom Penh first, followed by the cessation of assistance to all hostile parties in Cambodia.

Some people still have doubts about the U.S. policy change, saying that it will be completely meaningless if China, the major prop of the Khmer Rouge, does not discontinue its support for the Khmer Rouge. It commands our attention here that Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Xu Dunxin said recently that Beijing persists in its policy of assisting Cambodian resistance forces. Besides the reaction of the Cambodian resistance forces to Baker's proposal, the views of those who are doubtful particularly attract people's attention. (Roland), one of the leaders of the resistance forces, said that this will likely make the pro-West Sihanouk and Son Sann groups move closer to Beijing. According to him, China is willing to provide each group of the Cambodian resistance forces with aid amounting to twice the U.S. annual aid of $7 million.

We should acknowledge the possibility of such Chinese aid. However, in view of the Khmer Rouge's bad reputation, it is very difficult for people to imagine that Sihanouk and Son Sann will agree to receive aid from the source that also assists the Khmer Rouge.

Nevertheless, I believe that Washington's firm step will isolate the Cambodian resistance forces and will contribute eventually to the stability of the Cambodian situation. At any rate, it proves that Washington has begun to show a political flexibility and a realism in its position on settling the Cambodian issue. This is very important.

China

Scientific, Engineering Ties With China Viewed

PM1907082790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M. Titarenko and Candidate of Economic Sciences L. Girich: "What the Partner Is Proposing. Soviet-Chinese Scientific Cooperation Accelerates"]

[Text] In the 40 years of people's power a powerful scientific potential has been created in the PRC. On the eve of the revolution victory the country had just 30,000 scientific research workers, of whom only 500 were directly involved in scientific research. The Chinese people's historic victory in 1949 and the formation of the PRC opened a new page in the history of Chinese science.

The Chinese Academy of Sciences, set up in November 1949, is the country's largest comprehensive scientific research center in the sphere of the natural and technical sciences. It has 123 scientific research institutions employing 70,500 people, including 37,000 scientists and engineers.

Research in the sphere of social science is conducted both by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, which was separated from the Academy of Sciences in 1977, and by provincial academies of social sciences set up over the past decade in all China's provincial centers and autonomous regions, as well as in cities under central control (Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai). The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has 33 scientific research institutes and two scientific centers—the total number of people employed by the academy is over 5,000.

The former inward-looking nature and self-imposed isolation of China's scientific research is being overcome. It is becoming characteristic for the country's scientists to view the dynamics of Chinese society as part of the development of all human civilization, and to define China's place and role in it.

The PRC's scientists have made a great contribution to the development of world and Chinese science and technology. This is attested by their successes in the sphere of theoretical and fundamental research, the development of missile technology, and space exploration. In the past 10 years alone more than 1,500 developments by Chinese scientists have been registered as discoveries or inventions. In the opinion of Soviet scientists who visited China recently, work in a number of avenues of fundamental research is being conducted at quite a high level—sometimes an advanced world level. The degree of technical provision and the level of equipment installed at many of the Chinese Academy of Sciences' scientific research institutes is not inferior to most USSR Academy of Sciences institutes, and often exceeds our average level.

The PRC has elaborated and is successfully implementing a comprehensive space research program. Significant results have been achieved in the development of agricultural science. Biological methods have been elaborated to protect plants from many diseases and insects, and high-yielding varieties of vegetables and soybeans have been produced. Research in the sphere of biochemistry aimed at the artificial production of large protein molecules and the elaboration of new methods for analyzing the state of nucleic acids has reached world standards. A number of fundamental theoretical problems have been solved in the sphere of medicine. China has become the first country to successfully isolate and artificially culture the trachoma virus. Notable progress is being made in analytical, quantum, and catalytic chemistry, rare-earth chemistry, chemical analysis and separation methods, and high-temperature superconductivity research.

Over the past decade Chinese social scientists have developed in the course of their new interpretation of socialism a number of theoretical scientific provisions and the sphere of philosophy, economics, and scientific socialism. They are producing ideas about the need to build socialism taking account of the country's ethnic features and to go their own way; about the need for the building of socialism under conditions of economic and cultural backwardness to assume quite a long initial stage; about the development of production forces and the focusing of efforts on their modernization as a fundamental task of socialist society; about the socialist economy as a planned commodity economy; about the importance of reforms as a motive force in the development of socialist society; about the expansion of foreign ties as a necessary condition for the implementation of socialist modernization; ideas that socialist spiritual culture is an important feature of socialism, and so forth.

At the same time, according to assessments by Chinese specialists, China's overall lag behind the advanced countries in the sphere of science and technology is of the order of 30 years. By the year 2000 it is planned to cut this gap to 20 years, and by 2010 to 10 years. To that end the PRC is reforming the system of administering the development of science and technology and developing international scientific ties.

China is engaged in scientific and technical cooperation with more than 100 countries, and with 50 of these the cooperation is covered by intergovernmental agreements. Work is being conducted on approximately 5,000 joint scientific and technical projects, notably with the United States, Japan, the FRG, France, Britain, and other countries.

In December 1978 the Third Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 11th convocation initiated a major turn in the PRC's political course away from many failed concepts and subjective deviations, toward a practical approach to the resolution of the problems facing the country. A new stage also began in Soviet-Chinese scientific cooperation.

In December 1985, during a stay in Moscow by a Chinese Academy of Sciences delegation, agreement was reached on restoring ties and scientific cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and, in June 1986, agreements on scientific cooperation and a plan for cooperation in 1987-1988 were signed in Beijing.

Direct ties are being established not only between central bodies, but between regional scientific institutions located in various parts (including border areas) of the USSR and the PRC. For instance, the USSR Academy of Sciences Geographical Institute and the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences Geographical Institute have signed a treaty on direct scientific cooperation with the Chinese Academy of Sciences Institute of Glaciology and Geocryology and agreed to conduct a joint expedition in Tibet in 1990-1992. The USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Department's Marine Biology Institute has signed a protocol with the Chinese Academy of Sciences Oceanology Institute on cooperation in the sphere of marine biology. Sectorial scientific research institutions in the two countries are also being involved in cooperation. In accordance with the decisions of the third session of the Soviet-Chinese Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation a number of USSR and Chinese Academy of Sciences scientific institutions will be taking part in the implementation of new cooperation programs which will be implemented in the form of joint projects.

Last year scientific ties between our countries were further deepened and expanded. A plan for scientific cooperation in 1989-1990 was signed in Moscow. The number of joint research and development projects was increased to 76, and the annual exchange of scientific staffers not involving foreign currency [bezvalyutnyy obmen] was expanded.

The Chinese side has proposed devoting serious attention to the search for new forms of economic cooperation at all levels. In this connection, in its opinion, it would be expedient to reexamine the program to develop Siberia and the Far East with a view to expanding cooperation with the PRC in the economic development of these Soviet regions and adjoining Chinese provinces, and to take account of the questions of expanding ties with other countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

The experience of building socialism in China over 40 years is a rich source for the study of the theory and practice of socialism as applied to such a vast and formerly backward country as China. Soviet scientists in close cooperation with their Chinese colleagues intend to objectively and comprehensively study the problems of socialism within the framework of the common academic program "China and Socialism: Past, Present, and Future."

With regard to implementing the accord the Far Eastern Institute has signed an agreement on direct bilateral cooperation with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' Institute of the USSR and the East European countries. The sides have agreed on scientific cooperation in the elaboration of two subjects in the sphere of trade and economic ties, economic cooperation, and comparative study of economic reform in the USSR and the PRC.

In recent years forms of scientific and information cooperation such as exchanges of books and the preparation of joint scientific information publications have been developed.

In order to effectively coordinate, organize, and monitor the fulfillment of joint research, as well as the drawing up of proposals on new forms of cooperation, the USSR and Chinese Academies of Sciences have set up a bilateral commission on cooperation between the USSR and Chinese Academies of Sciences. A commission for cooperation in the sphere of the social sciences with PRC institutions has been set up at the USSR Academy of Sciences for similar purposes. A group has been set up at the USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Institute to conduct information analysis work in the sphere of cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and PRC institutions and organizations in the natural, technical, and social sciences.

Mutually advantageous Soviet-Chinese scientific cooperation is accelerating after a long break.

USSR-PRC Economic Cooperation Viewed

OW2007062190 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 17 Jul 90

["Short commentary" by station observer Dmitriyev: "The Two Countries Cooperate With Each Other in the Interests of Their Peoples"]

[Text] The basis for Soviet-Chinese economic and trade relations is a cooperation agreement and a protocol signed by the governments of the two countries. The goods exchange agreement between the two countries is signed once every year. By taking a look at the indexes of goods exchanged between the two countries over the past decade, one can find that their volumes have been increasing. During the past decade, the volume of goods exchanged has increased 13 times. More than 50 percent of the commodities exported from the Soviet Union to China are industrial products, and 80 percent of the commodities imported by the Soviet Union from China are daily necessities and agricultural products. Such percentages are determined by the economic characteristics of our two countries which successfully complement each other. Each supplies the commodities the other needs. Border trade, which has developed vigorously in recent years, has become an important channel in this regard. Particularly since the signing in June 1988 of an agreement on the establishment and development of economic and trade relations between the industrial enterprises of Soviet republics, provinces, and cities and those of Chinese provinces and cities, border trade has become brisker. The two countries have also signed an agreement on the establishment of joint ventures.

Border and regional cooperation have developed in large areas of the two countries. Such cooperation is stable and long term. A case in point is the cooperation between Kazakstan and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. The two vast regions signed a program for economic and technical cooperation until 1995.

The first step has been taken in setting up joint ventures. Early this year, 16 Soviet-Chinese joint ventures were established. Cooperation in labor services has also developed.

Although Soviet-Chinese economic and trade relations have vigorously developed, the potential of the two countries in this regard has yet to be fully tapped. To bring such potential into full play to serve a long-term program for the development of Soviet-Chiense economic, scientific, and technological cooperation, Chinese Premier Li Peng signed a cooperation agreement while visiting our country in April of this year. I do not want to deal with the main clauses of the agreement but to mention its main purpose. As this document points out, the main purpose is to vigorously promote improvement of the material and cultural living standards of the Soviet and Chinese people on the basis of the further improving the national economies of the two countries. I believe that to achieve this is urgent for both the Soviet and Chinese people who are carrying out reforms.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Position on Aid to USSR Examined

OW2007062290 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Commentary by Dmitriyev]

[Text] The issue of aid to the Soviet Union was one of the major topics on the agenda of the Houston summit of seven major industrialized nations held last week. News reports from Japan indicate that the issue continues to be the center of attention in Japan even after the conclusion of the summit.

As is known to all, Prime Minister Kaifu disclosed in Houston the Japanese Government's official stand that Japan would not provide direct financial aid to the Soviet Union, but that only intellectual assistance would be provided. Of course, intellectual assistance such as high-level consultations on various questions, including methods of effective economic management, will be advantageous to the Soviet Union. We feel grateful even only to learn of such plans, because this shows that Japan and other nations understand that perestroyka being implemented in the Soviet Union conforms to the interests of the international community.

As you all know, it is not the Soviet side that has made any special request for direct financial assistance. Therefore, I don't think we have any reason to feel regret because Japan has refused financial aid. Moreover, the point at issue does not lie in the aid itself but in the fact that Japan's approach toward the issue of aid for the Soviet Union reflects its stance on overall relations with the Soviet Union.

Prior to and during the Houston summit, many Japanese at various levels have, more than once, made remarks linking the issue of aid to the Soviet Union with settlement of the territorial issue. After the conclusion of the summit, MAINICHI SHIMBUN quoted a diplomatic source and published a list of preconditions for Japan to provide the Soviet Union with direct economic assistance. This list includes settlement of the territorial issue. Three preconditions mentioned in the list are resolute reforms for shifting to a market economy, reduction of national defense spending, and reduction of aid to nations that have been agitating regional conflicts.

It is difficult to have great expectations for rapid and resolute realization of a market economy concept which meets the conditions of a nation such as the Soviet Union. The third condition is rather ambiguous and is hard to regard as a basis for the Japanese Government's stand regarding aid to the Soviet Union. As for military expenditure, reductions have already been made. This is shown by a reduction of half a million Soviet troops, including 120,000 troops stationed in the Soviet Far East.

Moreover, the so-called Soviet threat, which was included in final documents of previous summits, was not published in the final document of the Houston summit. This fact clearly indicates that conspicuous efforts by the Soviet Union to promote disarmament have been indirectly recognized. However, Japanese Defense Agency Director General Ishikawa stated his dissatisfaction with the decision not to include the issue.

When these preconditions for aid to the Soviet Union suggested by the Japanese side are taken into careful consideration, it should be noted that they are nothing but a supplement to the territorial issue. In other words, the Japanese Government views Soviet-Japanese relations through the prism of the territorial issue.

It is apparent that this concept does not have absolute approval in Japanese political circles. For example, Toshio Yamaguchi, a noted activist of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], disclosed his views at a seminar held in Karuizawa. He said: Regarding Japanese-Soviet relations, the territorial issue remains unsettled. Japan should positively support Soviet perestroyka. He also stressed that economic assistance should also be provided to the Soviet Union at the same level as aid to

China. Moreover, Shin Kanemaru, another noted LDP activist, stated his view that Japan should cooperate with other Western nations in assisting the Soviet Union.

The opposition parties are opposed to the stand taken by the government. For example, Komeito has expressed its regret over the government stand. The Japan Communist Party has stressed that the government should not take the position of achieving its political and military purposes by using economic aid as a shield. The Japan Socialist Party has pointed out that effective aid to the Soviet Union will promote the defusion of tension in Asia.

Thus, when the approach toward the issue of aid to the Soviet Union as expressed by several members of political circles and opposition parties is taken into consideration, we can judge the depth of insight and the sense of responsibility for the world situation of the Japanese Government and also judge whether policies befitting Japan as an economic power have been pursued.

Mongolian Talks on Scientific, Economic Ties End

LD1807094290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2233 GMT 17 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Kim Boldokhonov]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 17 Jul (TASS)—The 38th session of the intergovernmental Soivet-Mongolian commission on economic and scientific-technological cooperation ended at government house here today. The Soviet delegation was headed by V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Mongolian side by D. Byambasuren, first deputy chairman of the MPR [Mongolian People's Republic] Council of Ministers.

The sides mapped out measures for the implementation of accords reached during the Moscow summit meeting in May 1990. Issues of accounts between the USSR and the MPR according to credits previously granted by the Soviet Union were discussed, as were plans for trade and economic cooperation for 1991. The participants in the session devoted much attention to the development of a mechanism for a transition to accounting in freely convertible curency at current world prices in economic relations between the USSR and the MPR starting from 1 January 1991.

A number of decisions aimed at the further development of cooperation in geology, the mining industry, and power engineering were adopted at the session.

The participants in this intergovernmental meeting have made efforts to preserve everything valuable in the experience of many years of cooperation, to provide a stimulus for the development of new forms of cooperation, to make the economies of the two countries more open, and to adhere strictly to the principle of mutual benefit, it was noted at a briefing on the results of the session.

Taking account of the wish of the Mongolian side, and of the present socioeconomic situation in the country, it was decided to postpone the commencement of the MPR's debt repayments to the Soviet Union until the year 2000.

Abuses of Former Mongolian Leader Cited

90US1121A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 27 Jun 90 p 3

[Article by A. Irzabekov: "He Is Aging, His Sins Will Not"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—Brezhnev, Ceausescu, Zhivkov, Honecker, Husak.... How many splendid words about their excellence, outstanding contribution, and organizing talent these people were hearing in the recent past. Today we are forced to say the direct opposite.

Yumjagiyn Tsedenbal, who led the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] and the Mongolian Government for more than 40 years, is no exception. On 14 February of this year the MPR [Mongolian People's Republic] prosecutor decided to investigate instances of the abuse of power by the hero of labor and hero of the MPR and holder of five orders of Suhe-Baatar and two orders of Lenin. These instances were adduced in numerous publications of the Mongolian press, on the basis of which this article was written.

He was only 29 years old when the 10th MPRP Congress in 1940 elected Yu. Tsedenbal general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee. Prior to this, the native of Mongolia's Ubsunur Aymag had graduated from the workers' school of Irkutsk University and the Financial and Economic Institute and had been a lecturer at the Ulaanbaatar Financial Technical School and republic minister of finance.

The active support of Soviet advisers in the MPR was undoubtedly reflected in Tsedenbal's political career. But there was one further circumstance also. Marshal H. Choybalsan needed a successor, someone loyal and dependable. And Tsedenbal had honorably justified the hopes placed in him by the "Mongolian Stalin." He had immediately joined in the clamorous campaign to "eradicate enemies of the people."

In the fall of that same year of 1940 Balganjan, chairman of the party Auditing Commission, and Magsar, leader of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League, who were accused of a "counterrevolutionary conspiracy" and "treason," fell victim, with his direct participation, to the punitive measures. In addition, in his office he personally interrogated one further innocent victim, Lubsannovan, secretary of the capital's city party committee.

The apogee of the punitive measures which engulfed the country in the 1940's was the so-called "Port Arthur" affair, when 42 of 80 persons were sentenced to death, and the rest received long terms of imprisonment.

A well-known saying goes: "If you want to get to know a person, give him power." Having learned the value of this power early, Yu. Tsedenbal fought for it with all means, fair and foul. Thus in 1952, following the death of Choybalsan in Moscow, he became the country's prime minister. But the MPRP Central Committee did not permit him to combine this office with that of general secretary, to which D. Damba was elected. But Damba was shortly to begin—too assertively, in Tsedenbal's opinion—to seek to expose Choybalsan's personality cult. And Tsedenbal, fearful of his previous sins surfacing, began to seek a way of removing his rival.

And such a pretext soon presented itself—N.S. Khrushchev came to combine the positions of leader of the party and the government. And at the MPRP Central Committee's Second Plenum on 20 November 1958, in circumvention of the planned agenda, Tsedenbal proposed the adoption of a draft decision recommending, "proceeding from current requirements, the adoption of constructive measures to centralize and improve the party and state leadership". After which D. Damba was relieved of the position of leader of the party allegedly at his own request, and Tsedenbal restored himself to the position of general secretary. In addition, Damba and also Surenjab, Damdin, Lamchin, Samlan, and Balgan were expelled from the Politburo en masse, and Dugerjan was removed as chairman of the Party Control Committee.

Or another episode. At the Central Committee plenum in December 1964 three members of the Central Committee criticized Yu. Tsedenbal. And this cost Surmajan, Nyambu, and Lokhuzu banishment for life.

Even at the start of his career Tsedenbal had displayed suspicion in respect of the Mongolian intelligentsia, which even so had been weakened considerably by an appalling whirlwind of punitive measures. He generously pinned on it increasingly new labels here—"dissidents," "anti-Soviets," "antiparty elements," and so forth. Thus dealing in turn with dozens of thinking statesmen who enjoyed respect, scholars and representatives of the arts, he strengthened his power, which became truly omnipotent. Particularly following the death of J. Sambu, when to his two offices he added a third—chairman of the MPR Great People's Hural Presidium.

A speaker at a mass meeting of representatives of informal public and political movements called Tsedenbal "the most un-Mongolian" of all the country's leaders. And there were grounds for this. What, for example, was behind the hasty replacement of the traditional Mongolian script with Cyrillic. After this, a whole seam of cultural heritage, including the celebrated "Secret Story," became unintelligible to today's readers. It is said, incidentally, that this action was greatly to the liking of that outstanding linguist I.V. Stalin. In addition, endeavoring to please his northern neighbor, in the summer of 1950 Tsedenbal ordered scholars to prepare a document which substantiated the need for Mongolia's affiliation to the Soviet Union. But the project did not, thank God, meet with approval in the country.

The imprudent management of the economy and the foisting on the people of "credit thinking" led to the inadequate use of Mongolia's internal resources and the country's being pulled into a multi-billion debt. Producer cooperatives producing 20 percent of the national economic product were liquidated in Yu. Tsedenbal's 40-year term of work. As were the consumers' cooperative societies, which had emerged practically simultaneously with the people's revolution.

In the 1950's Mongolian scientists presented the initiative for the creation in the country of heavy industry, but the party leader turned this idea down flat, proclaiming an official policy of "the development only of light industry, and the need for heavy industry products to be satisfied thanks to their acquisition in the fraternal socialist countries."

But the main thing for which the ordinary herdsmen blame Tsedenbal was the restriction on the numbers of livestock in the private herd, which was limited to 50-75 head. In the opinion of the former Mongolian leader, this would "prevent their working for the good of their own agricultural association." The people had for millennia lived by animal husbandry, but Tsedenbal's experiments tore the herdsmen away from their traditional ways of life and production.

Such a policy of despotism requires a good fattening of one's associates. A whole number of documents testifies that the general secretary did not begrudge his retinue, allocating it generous special benefits from party and state funds. As becomes clear from classified documents of 1959-1961, nine persons—members and candidates of the Politburo—and also the deputy chairmen of the MPR Council of Ministers spent from government coffers in addition to a wage of 2,000-2,300 tugriks (1 ruble corresponds to 4.18 tugriks—A.I.) approximately 500 tugriks on food and approximately 600 tugriks on their apartments, electricity, and telephones. They maintained chauffeurs and live-in cooks. In addition, they received 1,000-1,200 tugriks in "envelopes" and so forth. Thus in three years these nine persons cost the treasury 319,000. And Tsedenbal himself was no ascetic. According to certain data, he cost the treasury half a million tugriks in 14 years, in addition to his salary.

Tsedenbal's political portrait would be incomplete if we did not mention his wife, A.I. Tsedenbal-Filatova, niece of Vazhnov, former USSR ambassador in the MPR, whom the Mongolian people called nothing other than "avgay," which corresponds to the French "madame" or the Russian "gospozha" [Mrs.]. People still recall the avgay's crimes in Mongolia with a shudder, and the story here could serve as the subject of a separate article. I will say only that Anastasiya Ivanovna participated most actively in decisions on personnel matters of the top echelon of power. And, furthermore, an essential criterion, in her opinion, of suitability for this or the other state or party office had to be a knowledge of Russian. It became amusing even. Eyewitnesses recall that the avgay would seat ministers at desks, like schoolboys, and give them dictation in Russian.

For many years A.I. Tsedenbal-Filatova was head of the MPR Children's Fund. And today there is serious reason to believe that she was such not only from moral considerations and that some resources of the fund ended up in the pockets of the wife of the former leader.

Mongolian television recently presented a two-hour program from the Moscow apartment of the Tsedenbal couple where they presently live. And according to many of my Mongolian acquaintances who had considered Yu. Tsedenbal the main culprit of the era of stagnation and who had demanded that he immediately be brought to justice, it would hardly be possible to pass judgment on the former leader today. Yumjagiyn Tsedenbal appeared in the program to be a seriously ill person who would constantly lose the thread of the conversation and who exhibited frequent lapses of memory.

However, how to act in respect of their former leader is for the Mongolian people themselves to decide. The MPR prosecutor has yet to hand down an official indictment. But the court of history has already pronounced its verdict.

DPRK Ministry Explains Resumption of Dialogue

SK2007043190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 19 Jul 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The spokesman for the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that the resumption of dialogue between North and South Korea was not influenced by contacts between the Soviet Union and South Korea.

The resumption of talks between the delegates of the DPRK and South Korea was not due to outside influence but was a result of Pyongyang's consistent position to achieve the reunification of the fatherland.

The talks had been suspended because of this year's large-scale "Team Spirit" military exercise. However, when the military exercises ended, the DPRK took the initiative in order to continue contacts with South Korea.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

'Masses' Seen as Key To Progress in Vietnam

PM1907122190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Vu Oanh, secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) Central Committee: "So That the Link Is Not Severed...."]

[Text] Hanoi—The link with the masses is a law of the existence, development, and activity of any true Marxist-Leninist party and a condition guaranteeing success in building socialism and defending the homeland. V.I. Lenin repeatedly asserted that the indissoluble link with the people is the basic source of the party's strength: The vanguard will only be able to carry out its historical mission if, having established the link with the masses which it directs, it actually leads the masses forward. He recalled that for the ruling party divorce from the masses poses one of the greatest and most terrible dangers. If people overlook the indissoluble link between the vanguard and the entire people, "misfortune will follow." This fact is wholly corroborated by practical experience.

In leading the people in their revolutionary struggle for more than 60 years the CPV has constantly paid attention to ideological, political, and organizational work among the population and been concerned with establishing and strengthening a lasting link with the people. For that reason our party, despite its small size, has remained the leading force of the people's revolution, which has overcome all difficulties and defeated all its enemies. This indissoluble link with the people is not just a marvelous tradition but also serves as a great lesson of the Vietnamese revolution.

Today the party and the people are engaged in carrying out the renewal planned by the Sixth CPV Congress, their goal being to extricate the country from its travails and socioeconomic crisis. This major, comprehensive, and profound revolutionary action is being carried out in a situation where rapid changes are taking place within and without the country and where both favorable factors and great difficulties exist. The forces of imperialism and reaction are bent on undermining the process of socialist building in Vietnam. They are using every means to try to persuade the masses over to their side, to sow discontent among them, and to gain their support in this context. Such a situation demands that we develop the experience and traditions we have acquired by strengthening the indissoluble link with the people and improve the work of mobilizing the masses in a spirit of renewal.

The Eighth CPV Central Committee Plenum (March 1990) adopted a decision on "Renewing the Party's Mass Work and Strengthening the Party's Link with the People." The plenum confirmed that over a more than three-year period the course of renewal proposed by the sixth party congress has received the full support of the people, is being actively implemented, has been marked by its first major successes in all spheres, particularly the economy, and has generated enthusiasm and confidence in the future among the people. A process of democratization of society is under way and the political system is being gradually renewed.

However, we still have many difficulties, socioeconomic ones being the most acute and serious. This perturbs a certain section of the population. The fact that some cadre workers, party members, and workers in state organs have not freed themselves from the bonds of bureaucracy, suffer from highhandedness, abuse their official position for personal gain, have distanced themselves from the people, exhibit dictatorial attitudes, engage in extortion, and infringe the interests of the people is particularly serious. Some party organs and authorities do not heed the people's opinion, let mass work drift, and fail to motivate people to act well while resorting solely to adminstrative edicts and failing to renew the content or methods of their work to match the standards and needs of the masses in the new conditions. This impairs the good name and authority of party and state, undermines the masses' faith in them, and adversely affects the link between the party and the people.

Our party considers that, if mass party work is to be renewed and the link between the party and the people strengthened and consolidated, a lot of concrete practical work needs to be carried out, sufficiently deep concern for the people's life and well-being shown, their democratic rights actually respected and developed, really clean and powerful party organizations, government apparatus, and state and mass organizations created and developed, a high standard of ideological and political instruction of the population established, negative phenomena in the behavior of cadre workers and party members eradicated, and relations in society improved.

We are now setting ourselves quite specific tasks in work with the masses.

In generalizing its practice Marxism-Leninism has arrived at the truth that "revolution is the business of the masses." A communist party which wants to lead the revolution must have close links with the masses and rely on their support. Ho Chi Minh, who had mastered in depth the Marxist-Leninist concept of the strength and role of the people, also stressed the idea that revolutionary ideology is the business of the people and is carried out by the people on the people's behalf. Ho Chi Minh repeatedly pointed out that "ours is a democratic country. Everything in it is for the good of the people. All rights belong to the people. The people assume responsibility for renewal and creation.... In short, rights and strength are on the people's side."

At the present stage of development, when the renewal of the country has been developed on a broad scale and is deepening all the time and when there exists a multitiered commodity economy and several classes and strata in society, the CPV has proposed the course of developing all the potential of the country and society: to build a strong socialist Vietnam where the people are prosperous, free, and happy. The working class, the working peasantry, and the socialist intelligenstia led by the Communist Party are the basic strength of the revolutionary process and transformations.

The Communist Party is waging a struggle in the interests of the working class, the working people, the whole people. Now that power is in the people's hands, the most favorable conditions exist for their implementation. Ho Chi Minh said that, if a country achieves independence but the people lack freedom and prosperity, such independence is pointless. Our party considers the good of the people to be the goal and motivating force of the mass movement.

In a society where the people are the masters, individual, collective, and public good are interlinked, but personal good is the direct motive force. This is not some kind of remote abstraction but is our everyday life: It means work, food, clothing, the opportunity to receive medical treatment and education and to move about easily and safely, and the opportunity to live in an atmosphere of freedom and democracy without hinderance, coercion, or threats.

The process of mobilizing and organizing the people may be successful, but the party will only gain complete trust when it shows concern in practice to protect and satisfy the vital interests of the population and harmoniously combines all the interests, rights, and duties of citizens.

In present-day conditions the population's level of knowledge is increasing all the time, the volume of information is growing, and the people's needs are extremely varied. Therefore greater attention must be paid to renewing the content and methods of mass work, making it more dynamic and attractive, and care taken to protect the rightful interests of working people and involve them in all state affairs. It is absolutely essential to set up mass organizations in all spheres—science, technology, art, physical culture, sports...—alongside public and political organizations. This will enable the people to assert their right as masters and help develop their mental capacities in order to solve the central task of the new stage of the revolution—the development of the economy and culture and the building of a new life. Mass organizations must function on the basis of voluntary, autonomous, and self-financing principles. The party and state must create all necessary conditions for the activity of these organizations and help overcome inefficiency, red tape, and the state takeover [ogosudarstvleniye] of mass organizations.

Work with the masses cannot be the private affair of public organizations alone. All organizations within the political system must assume responsibility for this. Cadre workers, party members, and members of creative unions must work with the masses on the basis of their needs and interests and go directly to labor collectives, neighborhoods, and each family, reach everyone, develop everything that is positive, and limit negative features in order to create the new man and build a new life.

In channeling all its strength today into solving pressing socioeconomic tasks the CPV attaches paramount importance to strengthening its ties with the masses and consolidating the people, which will be of crucial importance for the victory of the course of renewal and the building of a new, prosperous society.

Situation in Burma After Elections Reviewed

BK1907132590 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Commentary by station observer Aleksandr Vladimirov: "Myanmar on Martyrs Day"]

[Text] The question that elicits the most interest among observers studying Myanmar [Burma] today is whether a compromise can be reached between the military government and the National League for Democracy [NLD]—the party that won the May elections. Only recently it was a different question they were asking. They were wondering whether Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, NLD general secretary who is under house arrest, would be released since she has completed her one year of detention. But on this Martyrs Day, 19 July, the anniversary of the sad passing away of General Aung San—the father of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi—it will be rare to find someone who still believes that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi will be able to leave her home in the very near future to guide her party.

According to reports reaching here from the capital of Myanmar, the situation there remains calmer than most predicted. Although news reports say that Myanmar youths staged some activities, it appears that the opposition and the government have been trying to prevent a tense situation both before and on Martyrs Day. The approaches by the two sides on the issue, however, were different.

While NLD leaders are very wary about the consequences that can arise from the steps they take and have therefore until today been avoiding the staging of mass rallies and demonstrations, the State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC] has been beefing up its security measures and obstinately doing whatever it likes. The SLORC has the opinion that it alone is the sole and legal government.

Even though the SLORC, which is not a political government, claims the right to rule the country through its own orders and proclamations, it has been pointing out that the new government which is about to emerge under a multiparty system cannot rule without a state constitution. Military government leaders have been trying to justify this argument with various excuses. Particularly, they have been saying that the election results cannot be accepted as legal until the [two-month] period given to file complaints over the election and the vote counting is over.

In addition, military leaders have repeatedly been saying that the question regarding the new state constitution must not be resolved immediately because the new constitution has to be drafted from scratch since the 1947 and the 1974 constitutions have proved inadequate to needs. Such an argument can be viewed in many lights. Some observers, however, have been pointing out that the situation in Myanmar today is indeed very strange and not easy to understand. This is because while the SLORC has the right to rule without a constitution, the party that has won the elections has no legal right to work nor has it been given any prospects to work.

Singapore Ambassador Arrives in Moscow

PM1707153590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the "Official Reports" heading]

[Text] Joseph Francis Conceicao, ambassador of Singapore to the USSR, arrived in Moscow 14 July.

Near East & South Asia

Prospects for Middle East Peace Examined

LD1907152890 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—While Israel continues the annexation of occupied Arab territories and intensifies reprisals against Palestinians living there, people all over the world have become increasingly convinced that the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), is the only real path towards achieving peace and stability in the Middle East.

A few days ago, U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar called the attention of the five permanent members of the United Nations to the deteriorating situation in the occupied territories and emphasised the need for efforts to protect Palestinians against Israeli genocide. He urged the great powers to help overcome the impasse in the Middle East settlement.

It is no secret that the convocation of a Middle East conference depends to a considerable extent on the attitude of the United States, which maintains close relations with Israel. Washington has so far opposed direct united nations involvement in the solution of the Middle East problem.

A consistent course at political settlement in the region with the assistance of the United Nations and by a direct constructive dialogue with the PLO has been conducted by the 12 member-countries of the European Community (EC).

It is characteristic that the EC goes further than just condemning Israel's expansionist policy and violations of human rights on the annexed territories. It is establishing relations with Palestinians, victims of Israeli oppression.

No less important is the European Community's decision to set up a mission on the occupied territories. Although its personnel will only be observing the distribution of aid from Western Europe to local residents, it will essentially become a link for contacts of the European Community with Palestinians on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

It might become a prelude to the opening of foreign diplomatic missions on the territory of the future sovereign Palestine.

This is a strong blow to Tel Aviv's short-sighted policy, which has driven Israel into the blind alley of international isolation. On the other hand, this is also a practical contribution to the quest for the solution of the Palestinian problem, which is central to the Middle East conflict.

Deputy Minister Meets PLO's 'Abbas, Al-Najjab

LD1907153890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1436 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul (TASS)—Aleksandr Belonogov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, today received Mahmud 'Abbas and Sulayman al-Najjab, members of the PLO Executive Committee, who have come to Moscow to take part in the latest session of the Soviet-Palestinian committee on the Middle East.

During an exchange of views on the present situation in the Middle East, the sides expressed serious concern over the absence of real positive improvements in the matter of unblocking the Arab-Israeli conflict. They stressed the need for employing the potential of international efforts, including the United Nations, to overcome the impasse that has come about in the peace process.

The sides expressed mutual satisfaction at the high level of Soviet-Palestinian relations. They confirmed the striving to prolong close political cooperation between the USSR and the PLO in the interests of an all-embracing Middle East settlement and a just solution to the Palestinian problem.

Figures Released on 1990 Emigration to Israel

LD1907223490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2015 GMT 19 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In the first six months of this year 48,276 people have left the USSR to settle permanently in Israel.

Chamber of Commerce Head To Visit Israel

TA1807104390 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 18 Jul 90 p C1

[Report by Avi Gan'or]

[Text] Vladislav Malkevich, head of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce, will arrive in Israel next week for an official visit as guest of the Union of Chambers of Commerce in Tel Aviv.

Malkevich, who is very close to Mikhail Gorbachev, has the status of a senior minister and is, in fact, the most important Soviet official to visit here since the two countries severed relations. He is reciprocating a visit by Dani Gilberman, president of the Union of Chambers of Commerce, to Moscow in January.

It will be recalled that, during Gilberman's visit, the two chambers of commerce signed a cooperation agreement, and it was decided to set up offices in Tel Aviv and Moscow. Malkevich's visit to Israel is aimed at working out the details of the cooperation agreement and setting up the offices.

Last week, Anatoliy Perlov and Andrey Byzov, two representatives of the Soviet Chambers of Commerce, arrived in Israel to prepare for Malkevich's visit and to find suitable offices for the Soviet representation in Tel Aviv.

During his visit to Israel, Malkevich will meet with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, Foreign Minister David Levi, Finance Minister Yitzhaq Moda'i, Construction and Housing Minister Ari'el Sharon, and Labor Party Chairman Shim'on Peres.

The Union of Chambers of Commerce hopes that during the visit the Soviets will study ideas for joint projects, including the manufacture of a joint aircraft by the USSR, the United States, and Israel Aircraft Industries.

Oil Dispute Between Iraq, Kuwait Viewed

Negotiated Settlement Urged

LD1907173990 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Commentary by Aleksey Zlatorunskiy]

[Text] Worrying reports are arriving from the Gulf region. Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz has sent the Arab League a memorandum stating that Kuwait has exploited Iraq's difficulties related to the Iran-Iraq war to spread its sovereignty on part of Iraqi land. Iraq said that Kuwait had extracted from this land oil over ten years at an estimated value of $2.4 billion.

As to Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, amir of Kuwait, he denied this, and to clarify his position, he sent special envoys to all the Arab countries. The Kuwaiti National Assembly held an urgent session to discuss the situation.

Relations between Iraq and Kuwait have experienced complications on many occasions. Among the reasons for this is that the border between the two states has not been marked precisely until now. The situation at present is being aggravated also by the economic differences between the two countries. Western finance experts believe that Iraq's external debts as a result of the war with Iran are estimated at $70 billion, $30 billion of which are to Arab countries, including Kuwait. As to the present situation as seen by Iraq, it is summed up as owing nothing to Kuwait. What is more, it wants to demand compensation for oil production in territories considered by Iraq as its own.

It is clear from these facts that there is a danger of the eruption of a new conflict in the Gulf region. In light of this, we would like to draw your attention to the methods of settling disputes that have become in recent years a mode of international relations, the foremost being bilateral or multilateral political talks, taking into account the interests of the two parties to the conflict. On this basis, for instance, the conflict between Tunisia and Libya over oil production in the continental shelf region was settled. And on the basis of the balance of interests, the search for a final solution to the Iraq-Iran conflict and the Western Sahara conflict is under way. The international community calls for the use of this method also to end the stalemate in the Middle East. The USSR is convinced that there are no conflicts, no matter how difficult, that cannot be settled across the negotiating table. History has shown that attempts to use any other methods lead only to the aggravation of the situation, a matter which costs the two parties to the conflict and the whole international community an enormous price. I believe this applies fully to the situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

Iraqi President Levies Threat

LD2007090290 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1300 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Kuwaiti parliament held an emergency session after the speech by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, which contained offensive, veiled threats against Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. Saddam Husayn announced, in effect, that these two countries had stabbed Iraq in the back with a poisoned dagger. He promised to take measures if necessary. The Iraqi president did not say what measures he has in mind.

The cause of the dispute was the belated decision of Kuwait and the UAE to abide by the OPEC decisions to reduce output quotas. For this reason, to a large extent, oil prices in the world market in the last few months stayed at a very low level. The Iraqi president said that through this his country lost billions of dollars. Noncompliance with the output quota is a widely spread phenomenon among OPEC members. Such practices until now were not a cause for direct threats, despite the fact that they were never received with approval.

Was it the financial loss which prompted Mr. Saddam Husayn to resort to these tough words? Many Kuwaiti media organs dropped these words when they printed the speech. But officials expressed displeasure, unofficially of course. However, the Iraqi president's speech came about one week after the visit of Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Valiyati to Kuwait—the first in 11 years. During the visit the endeavor of the two countries to develop cooperation on the basis of good-neighborliness and mutual benefit was confirmed. Kuwait, which used to be one of the major financiers to Baghdad, has begun getting closer to Tehran. If one takes into consideration the fact that Iranian-Iraqi relations are still not normal, perhaps this quick rapprochement with Iran of the former ally of Baghdad could have led to Saddam Husayn's rage.

What feelings will such behaviour arouse in the Arab world, toward neighboring countries which have endured for long years the burden of financial assistance to Iraq? Saddam stated recently that he is prepared to use chemical weapons in the event of an Israeli attack on his country. However, the Arab capitals are inclined to take the danger of Tel Aviv's nuclear power as justification only for self-defense. The interesting thing is to know what sort of justifications there are now. [sentence as heard] Perhaps it is necessary not to look for them and to try and abandon attempts to solve disputes between sides at the expense of destroying one of them.

The process of reducing confrontation between the East and the West in Europe, for example, continues, and it is now surging forward. It would not develop so successfully if it were not for the fact that confidence has overcome doubt, and that the desire to rely on force has been replaced by the desire to understand and take into account the interests of the other side.

The Middle East will be a winner if this model of international relations spreads there too.

Soviet, Arab Parliamentarians Make Statement

PM2007102990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report: "Joint Statement by Soviet and Arab Parliamentarians"]

[Text] At the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet a delegation from the Arab Interparliamentary Union headed by Hilal Ahmad Lutah, chairman of the Arab Interparliamentary Union and chairman of the United Arab Emirates Federal National Assembly, was on an official friendly visit to th e Soviet Union from 11 through 16 July. The delegation included representatives of the parliaments of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Libya, Palestine, Syria, and Tunisia, and also the general secretariat of the Arab Interparliamentary Union.

The Arab Interparliamentary Union delegation was received by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities, A.S. Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Foreign Affairs, and USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.M. Belonogov and visited the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

During the discussion of the world situation the sides stated their support for the tendencies, which are gathering momentum, of the normalization of the international climate, the assertion of the principles of new political thinking, and the intensification of the parliaments' role in world affairs. The Arab parliamentarians assessed highly Soviet efforts aimed at the curtailment of the arms race, disarmament, and the unblocking of regional conflicts.

Having expressed profound concern in connection with the explosive situation in the Near East and the lack of a just all-embracing settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the sides noted the urgency of setting up the peace process in the region and convening an international conference with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. The opinion was voiced that it is important to move the matter of a settlement to a practical footing and to seek multiple-option interconnected approaches toward an international conference including through the active involvement of the UN mechanism. The Security Council resolutions No. 242 and 338 and the implementation of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination and the creation of their own state, should be the legal basis of the conference.

The sides denounced the Israeli repressions against the civilian Arab population on the West Bank the Gaza Strip, southern Lebanon, and the Golan Heights and expressed solidarity with the "intifada," which attests to the Palestinian people's resolve to seek to eliminate Israeli occupation and implement their own national rights.

The Soviet and Arab parliamentarians examined the question of the Israel authorities' illegal actions to settle immigrants, including those from the USSR, on the occupied Arab territories, which are a flagrant violation of the fourth Geneva Convention and relevant UN resolutions. The sides noted the need to take effective measures, including in the United Nations, to prevent a change to these territories' demographic structure. They voiced the opinion that within the framework of the observance of universally recognized human rights the legal rights of other peoples, in particular the Palestinians, should not be infringed. The Arab parliamentarians assessed highly the statements made on this score by M.S. Gorbachev. They also set forth some ideas concerning the settlement of this problem in accordance with the norms of international law concerning human rights.

The sides displayed concern in connection with the continuing tension in Lebanon and stressed the need for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Lebanese territory. They expressed themselves in favor of the implementation of the al-Ta'if accords, the consolidation of Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the attainment of national consensus in that country.

Satisfaction was expressed in connection with the activation of dialogue between Iraq and Iran and the initiatives aimed at seeking an Iran-Iraq settlement on the basis of the complete fulfillment of Security Council resolution no. 598.

The sides displayed concern at the arms race in the Near East, noted the importance of sparing that region from all types of weapons of mass annihilation, and expressed themselves in favor of creating in the region a zone free from nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons.

The sides confirmed the firmness of the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries and stressed the need for their development in all fields, especially in the economic sphere, including through a study of the possibility of using Arab capital in the Soviet economy on a mutually advantageous basis.

The sides agreed to continue dialogue and cooperation between the Soviet and Arab parliamentarians through the exchange of experience of the parliaments' work, information, and visits by delegations and through consultations on problems discussed within the framework of the Interparliamentary Union and other international forums.

Speculation on Iran-Iraq Relations Assessed

NC1807203590 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman refuted a report in the Egyptian newspaper (AL-MASA') on an upcoming visit by the Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and termed it baseless. Our commentator writes:

I do not know where the Egyptian newspaper obtained (?such) information. [Words indistinct] the report seems to reflect the sentiments of the social circles in Iran and in Arab countries. The entire region is brimming with anticipation of an amelioration of the political atmosphere, especially following the move toward an improvement in the relations between Iran and Iraq, and in the wake of Egypt's humanitarian assistance to the Iranian earthquake victims.

The expectation of improved Iranian-Egyptian relations have surfaced only recently. Cairo has been accusing Tehran of provoking the fundamentalists in (?Israel) and Egypt and desires the immediate release of Egyptians who fought for Iraq and are now incarcerated in Iran. Tehran also (?reacted). In addition, Tehran supports the Arab summit's decision on a boycott of Egypt for establishing diplomatic relations with Israel.

However, it appears that Iran is displaying more sensitivity on this issue than the Arabs themselves. Iranians cannot be more Arabized than the Arabs! The Arab countries have now revised their stances on relations with Egypt and have abstained from a boycott. Iran's closest ally, that is, Syria, is normalizing its relations with Egypt. The official visit of Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad to Cairo was arranged very easily. He discussed ways and means to consolidate mutual relations, the

Palestinian issue, and the extensive migration of the Soviet Jews to Israel with Husni Mubarak, the Egyptian president. The two sides concentrated on the differences between Syria and Iraq, Syria and the PLO, and the possibility of the release of Egyptian citizens from incarceration in Iran.

Egypt and Syria also reached a consensus on resuming operations of the bilateral commission for cooperation. The outcome of the talks between the Syrian and Egyptian presidents proved that they want to strengthen the unity of the Arab world and move toward a positive expansion of the current trend in the world. For this purpose, the two sides forfeited their earlier flights of fancy, arbitrariness, misgivings, and animosity.

Against such a backdrop, Iran's abstention from normalization of its relations with Egypt seems to be antithetical to the prevailing trend. However, I do not think that changes in circumstances are being ignored in Tehran. It is difficult to imagine that an assessment of the value of normalizing Iranian-Egyptian relations is not possible. It appears that (?the one) who considers the (?refutation) of the Egyptian newspaper's report regarding Velayati's visit to Egypt as a negation of the (?possibility) in Iranian-Egyptian relations [words indistinct].

It is possible that Tehran believes that Syria's preemptive action in this regard may not be correct from the point of view of diplomacy and subtlety. Perhaps the Iranian leadership has other considerations. The path to normalization of relations between governments is rarely simple and smooth. What is certain is that confrontation between Tehran and Cairo is in conflict with the contemporary spirit and the [words indistinct], as well as the norms of what constitutes the fundamental interests of the two nations.

Syrian President's Visit to Cairo Viewed

PM1907104790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent M. Kozhevnikov: "Another Presidents' Meeting"]

[Text] Damascus—Last week's main event in the political life of the Arab East was undoubtedly Syrian President H. al-Asad's official visit to Egypt. The trip was a kind of final chord in the reestablishment of normal relations between the two leading Arab states.

Remember that in 1977, after President al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, diplomatic contacts were broken off between Cairo and Damascus and were not resumed until 12 years later, at the end of last year.

It is noteworthy that H. Mubarak and H. al-Asad have already met within the last three months. In May the Egyptian president paid an official visit to Damascus, and it was then that the prospects were mapped out for the development of bilateral cooperation in various spheres. Now we have a new meeting between the two heads of state.

According to reports, the sides discussed in detail the Near East situation, the problem of Arab unity and the elimination of inter-Arab differences, and, of course, questions of the further development of a whole variety of ties.

News agencies said that H. Mubarak and H. al-Asad had several one-on-one conversations, but journalists were not informed of their substance. As always happens in such cases, there was food for conjecture and thought. A REUTER correspondent, for example, believes that the talks behind closed doors were chiefly about the normalization of relations between Syria and Iraq. In his view, there was a definite shift in the direction of bringing Damascus and Baghdad closer together. In particular, REUTER cites a statement by one of the Egyptian president's aides to the effect that the next Arab summit conference, set for November, will be attended by both Syrian President H. al-Asad and Iraqi President S. Husayn, who have not sat down at the same table for many years.

H. al-Asad's and H. Mubarak's joint news conference in Alexandria was interesting in every way. The Syrian president confirmed that his country is prepared to join in the process of a peace settlement in the Near East, although such a step depends on many circumstances. He stressed that Syria has long sought a just and all-embracing peace in the region. The time has now come, Al-Asad said, for new actions to safeguard peace. As for the Egyptian president, in his view much will depend on whether the Washington administration is able to persuade the current Israeli leadership to adopt a more flexible, realistic stance vis-a-vis the settlement of the conflict with the Arabs.

One of the questions put to the Syrian president concerned the nature of the contradictions that remain between Damascus and PLO leader Y. 'Arafat. There are no really important questions on which our views differ, the president said. However, according to him, Syria and the PLO leader do differ concerning the methods of achieving peace in the region.

As regards the prospects for the settlement of Syrian-Iraqi relations, President al-Asad said the following: "This problem is well known, it has existed for many years. But both Syria and Iraq are Arab states and sooner or later we will reach agreement." These words by the head of the Syrian Arab Republic were cited by many news agencies in their reports from Alexandria. The future, possibly the very near future, will show whether they find embodiment in real life....

East Europe

Pull-Out From GDR Said To Take 3-4 Years

LD2007090490 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—The Soviet Western Group of Forces, deployed in East Germany, should, sooner or later, return home, Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Treaty countries' Joint Armed Forces, said.

Speaking in a TASS interview, he said that the presence of Soviet troops in East Germany, just as that of American, English and French troops in West Germany, was in keeping with the four powers' commitments after the Second World War.

"The decision to end the presence could be taken only with regards for the security interests of all states concerned," General Lobov said.

He said that the troop withdrawal should be accompanied by a decision concerning the stay in Germany of troops of other countries, stemming from the need to review the four powers' responsibilities to a united Germany.

In General Lobov's opinion, the withdrawal of both Soviet and other troops from Germany should be linked to the creation of pan-European security structures.

The possible starting date of the Soviet pullout, he said, could be linked to the completion of the transitional period of German reunification and of NATO's review of its political guidelines, doctrine, strategy and their practical implementation.

"The return of Soviet military contingents home, I believe, will take three to four years. This is due to many factors, including the Soviet Union's economic difficulties," General Lobov said.

Major General Assesses Withdrawal

AU1807124690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jul 90 p 4

[Interview with Major General Vasiliy Kazachenko, commander of the Western Group of the Soviet Armed Forces, by Rene Heilig and Rainer Funke; place and date not given]

[Text] [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] General, for how long will you be the commander of the Soviet troops in the GDR, do you think?

[Kazachenko] That depends, first, on the results of the Vienna negotiations and their implementation, which means that we will only keep three of our armies, or 195,000 troops, on the territory of the GDR.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] There are currently 380,000....

[Kazachenko] Second, in the two-plus-four talks, problems related to the deployment of the Western Group will also be discussed. We assume that we will maintain the parity between the troops of the Warsaw Pact and those of NATO in Central Europe. In addition, all countries that are interested in a European home have a comprehensive interest in transforming both blocs into political security structures. I think that this is a good philosophy and a good policy.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] The Soviet Union is currently having major domestic policy problems. We have heard the view expressed in some units that therefore, the military people, primarily the Western Group, have to assume higher responsibility than they have had before for stability in Europe, because the politicians have other work to do now. Do you share this view?

[Kazachenko] The Western Group has been a stabilizing factor in Europe for several years. However, we must be honest and say that military confrontation is not the best solution to political problems. Therefore, we are now trying to lower the level of military confrontation and to create different, meaning peaceful, guarantees.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] However, in connection with the German problems, some military people have the impression that they are now needed more than ever before.

[Kazachenko] I think that the activities of the Soviet Union in the diplomatic and political fields have mitigated confrontation. Military problems are being discussed on virtually all negotiation levels. Therefore, it is not correct to represent the Western Group as the most important factor of stability.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Let us continue discussing the Soviet Army. New political thinking is certainly a long and difficult process. How receptive are the armed forces to this process?

[Kazachenko] The military members view this process positively and are feeling quite well in it. A soldier is not just a military person; he is an individual who has a family and a home country, and who wants the best for his children. This wish also includes disarmament and demilitarization.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Without any objections? The military members of the Western Group have no homes in the Soviet Union.

[Kazachenko] The housing problem does not only concern the members of the Western Group. Following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the CSFR and Hungary, 200,000 military members are looking for a home. In addition, there would be those of the Western Group. A social program has been prepared to give us housing in our country.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] As well as jobs?

[Kazachenko] Yes, housing, jobs, kindergarten places, and jobs for our families. Funds have been appropriated for this purpose, and all construction capacities of the armed forces have been deployed for this project. I think that this problem will be resolved within three to five years.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Yet, the announced troop withdrawal from the GDR, that the USSR has undertaken to carry out unilaterally, has been halted....

[Kazachenko] Yes. We intend to withdraw four divisions from the GDR, armored divisions, airborne troop units, some 4,000 tanks, and a number of special units. However, the withdrawal of troops from Hungary and the CSFR has changed our plans. The reasons for this are, first, the military balance which must be maintained, and, second, the social security of those military people who will be returning to the USSR. Therefore, the concept of the troop pullout from the GDR has been changed. That concerns two divisions and about 2,000 tanks. Last year, we removed 1,988 tanks and a couple of other units. However, the problem still exists. Once the necessary conditions have been created, the remaining troops will also leave the GDR.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Is the impression wrong, the impression we had during our visit to the Grossenhain Air Force division that the Soviet Army has increased its combat readiness?

[Kazachenko] It is the Armed Forces' task to be always combat-ready. We are currently experiencing probably the best situation that we have ever had. The policy of new thinking has not only had an impact on our country; we believe that the situation is favorable for resolving all security problems.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] The NATO leadership and the GDR Government assume that the united Germany will become a member of the North Atlantic Alliance. Answering a relevant question, some of your soldiers said that they would then feel as if they were deployed on "enemy territory."

[Kazachenko] I do not see it that way. For instance, as for the alliance membership of a united Germany, it must come about in the framework of the pan-European home. That would include a reduction in both sides' military potentials. NATO would have to change its doctrine, as the Warsaw Pact has done.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] But does the Warsaw Pact still exist as an alliance? Does it have one political opinion, one political weight?

[Kazachenko] We cannot give up the Warsaw Pact thoughtlessly. However, in the long run, there will be no blocs at all anymore. Pan-European political structures are emerging. The USSR's position is this: The united Germany will, for some time, be a member of both blocs.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Positions are changing.... But you talked about philosophical thinking in politics. Do we have time for that?

[Kazachenko] Yes, we have time for that. Without philosophically well-thought out concepts, we will not be able to carry out any politically sensible actions.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Is not policy forced to act much faster than the philosophers are able to think?

[Kazachenko] You are aware that many of the present realities originate from such way of thinking. We now need the philosophy of the policy of new thinking which began to be developed five years ago. Gorbachev announced our military strategy in January three years ago. We are now gradually starting to implement it.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] You are responsible for political work in the Western Group. The problems we are discussing are evidently complicated.

[Kazachenko] Let us take a soldier. In a few years, he will be a common citizen of his country again, representative of the new way of thinking. He will take part in the political processes in the country, in the implementation of our economic reforms, in the transition to the controlled market economy, and perhaps even in the privatization of our economy. We are having deficits in our economic thinking. That is one of the biggest obstacles on the road to restructuring.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Let us return to the military aspects. Could you conceive of a joint German army?

[Kazachenko] That is not so easy. They will be the Armed Forces of a united German state. What they will be like, will be the German people's business. It is important that they do not create any negative consequences for the Soviet Union. You know that many Poles and many Soviet citizens are worried. The people still remember well that World War II was started from German soil.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Following the recent Bundeswehr commanders' meeting, secret plans leaked out that the National People's Army should be totally reduced, and that then 100,000 Bundeswehr troops would be deployed in the GDR. Will NATO advance to the Oder river?

[Kazachenko] I do not see the future of a united German army in such a narrow way. As I said, at first the status of a united Germany must be defined in the two-plus-four negotiations, and in Vienna, the upper ceilings of the troops must be agreed upon. That will take a while. After that, the problems related to the deployment of a united German army will have to be resolved. The further development of the political structures will also lead to a reduction in the German army. This is the perspective.

National Dissensions in Yugoslavia Examined

PM1707134990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Jul 90 Single Edition p 6

[Report by TASS correspondent V. Kuznetsov: "Yugoslavia: Increasingly Sharp Contradictions"]

[Text] The working people of multi-ethnic Yugoslavia are living on top of a volcano. Events taking place in the autonomous province of Kosovo, in Slovenia, Croatia, and other republics of the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY], like underground tremors of great destructive power, are shaking the country's political landscape.

Slovenia, one of the SFRY's six republics, formally remains, to put it picturesquely, a member of the "blue, white, and red Yugoslav Federation," but to all intents and purposes it has long been swimming in the waters of confederalism, a TASS correspondent reports for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. This "northern" republic has demonstratively refused to contribute funds to the "Federation Fund for Granting Credits for the Accelerated Development of Undeveloped Republics and Autonomous Provinces"; it has summoned back its militiamen without permission from the composite detachment of law-enforcement organs in Kosovo ; it openly insists on forming a "national army" and conducting an "independent" foreign policy; it is breaking off cultural cooperation ties with the "southerners," i.e. the Serbs, overnight; and it is allowing mobs of citizens of Albanian nationality many thousands strong to be held out of doors, chanting "Death or freedom" on the squares of Ljubljana.

In Slovenia, where the opposition recently came to power, "an erosion of the former communist structures" is taking place, according to the assessment of the Yugoslav press. As the newspaper VECERNJE NOVOSTI remarked: "The local Social Democrats, having squeezed out the communists, have now gone into battle in earnest against Bolshevism."

The situation in the autonomous province of Kosovo, which is part of Serbia, remains calm on the whole, but a thunderstorm can be smelled in the air. There is "passive opposition" there by citizens of Albanian nationality to the Serbian Assembly decision to dissove the provincial parliament and government. For the umpteenth day running now the central street of Pristina—Marshal Tito street—has been turned into a "pedestrian zone for political protest," where between 20,000 and 25,000 Albanians, leaving their work places, silently express their disapproval of the Serbian authorities' decision.

The strike call of the so-called "Kosovo Democratic Forum of Albanians" and "independent" trade unions is supported by virtually all citizens of Albanian nationality employed in the organs of state administration. On the shop floors of many industrial enterprises the machines stop and workers lunch for free at the expense of the strike organizers.

Today, it is true, no explosions are to be heard in Kosovo as in March 1989, when disturbances escalated into a tragedy with human casualties; but there is civil disobedience.

Yet another of the Yugoslav republics—Croatia—will become "fully independent and sovereign" before October. Speaking on the newly created "TV Croatia," Vladimir Szeks, deputy speaker of the Croatian parliament, said that a new constitution will be adopted for the republic at the end of July.

In Croatia, where representatives of the "Croat Democratic Commonwealth" headed by Franjo Tudzman, entered the republic's parliament after elections on a multiparty basis, a "game of cadre musical chairs"—the renewal of cadres at all levels—has begun. Essentially, a bitter power struggle is under way. On various pretexts citizens of Serbian nationality are simply being driven out from important posts. One recent decision by the Croatian presidency (the collective ruling body of the republic) was to abolish the security organs and to reorganize the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Now the militia is called the "police service." Pupils at primary and secondary schools are obliged to address teachers as "Mr." or "Miss/Mrs." instead of "Comrade."

"We do not want a new Tito"—banners like these with the crossed-out photograph of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic have become an inseparable part of the political life of this, Yugoslavia's largest republic. Tall, broad-shouldered boys with downy mustaches and beards, dressed, despite the heat, in black clothes and straw caps, brandish enlarged photocopies of a 5,000 dinar banknote depicting the image of Tito with his eyes torn out. They are members of a party formed recently under the name "Serbian Renewal Movement," whose program is a mixture of unbridled nationalism and extremism.

The opposition which is raising its head in Serbia is putting forward a variety of programs regarding the reconstruction of political life in the republic, but on one thing there is complete accord: It campaigns in a united front against the communists.

Life is still on the boil in Montenegro. Its party boss is Momir Bulatovic, a young man with a sparse mustache and a level, well-trained speaking voice, said recently: "If events develop in this way, Montenegro will turn into a Lebanon, and Titograd into Beirut." Such fears are not without foundation. The nationalities question has become a stumbling block in the election war that has just begun among the variety of political groupings springing up like mushrooms after rain.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has woken from a lethargic sleep. Three blocs, so to speak, of communists and nonparty members have been formed there. Some parties are "getting married," others "divorced," and yet others are finding their feet and will develop in time, all appearances suggest, into Muslim and nationalist groups. Who will win in this republic? The answer to this question will be given by the elections due in November.

Things are troubled in the "southern" republic of Macedonia, where the League for Democracy has expressed a vote of no confidence in the local government.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia as "the leading political and ideological force" no longer exists in the form in which it has operated over the last 45 years. It is accused of all the sins, mistakes, and miscalculations of the past. Under the influence of the growing sociopolitical crisis, a very painful process of reevaluation of fixed conceptions of the forms and and organization of society is taking place within the League of Communists; an intensive quest is under way to renew the party and the model of socialist self-management alike.

Strikes have acquired a strongly pronounced political flavor. People are fed up to the back teeth with the system of simple orders and decrees. Each republic has locked itself up within its own borders. The once "unbreakable" unity of the peoples and nationalities is collapsing before our very eyes. The SFRY's higher echelons of power are showing vacillation, hesitation, and endless compromises. Nationalist egotism is getting the upper hand.

And everyone has only one refrain on their lips—will the verbal war escalate into a civil war? I am confident that the majority of Yugoslavs reject neither democratic socialism nor a federative Yugoslavia; but the country is experiencing times which are far from serene.

West Europe

Further Reportage on Gorbachev, FRG 's Kohl Talks

Gorbachev's Stance on German Unity Praised

PM1907115990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Grigoryev under the rubric "USSR-FRG: Post-Summit": "Realism and Trust: NATO Left Without Adversaries?"]

[Text] Bonn, 18 Jul—The results of the working meeting between the USSR president and the FRG chancellor are being widely discussed in West Germany. "Breakthrough," "Way Clear to German Unification," "Soviet Decision on Membership of Alliances," and "New Beginning for Germany and Soviet Union"—those are just a few of the headlines of editorials and commentaries in the West German press.

It is being stressed in particular that the meeting removed the main problems to the settlement of the external aspects of creating German unity. The debate on the nature of the future united Germany's military-political status had deadlocked the work of the "two-plus-four" group. Now this Gordian knot has been cut. The USSR has supported the full sovereignty of the future Germany.

Bonn is paying tribute to the realism and ability to be guided by long-term development trends newly demonstrated by Soviet foreign policy. Commenting on the results of the talks, some observers note openly that, but for the policy of perestroyka, there would be no unification of the German people either. There are comments that the USSR's position is a "major political vote of confidence" with regard to the Germans.

Naturally, many commentaries touch on the Soviet side's de facto acceptance of the prospect of a united Germany in NATO. Whereas some time ago the talk was primarily about ways to "sweeten this bitter pill" for the Soviet Union, now they are trying to examine in greater detail why Moscow has made such a difficult and major concession. On the whole, commentaries share the conclusion that this step became acceptable to the USSR not least because of the transformation of NATO policy. But there are other explanations in evidence.

"Frankly, I am stunned by Gorbachev's agreement to the united Germany's NATO membership. I was surprised that the future of nuclear weapons did not come up at the same time. It may be said that the North Atlantic alliance has won a very great triumph," E. Bahr, a well known figure and member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Presidium, told me in a telephone conversation. And he went on: "But I am convinced that this is the beginning of the end for NATO because it has no one else to oppose—after all, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary have freely elected governments while the Soviet Union is moving toward a market economy. In other words, Gorbachev has robbed NATO of its adversary, and I do not rule out the possibility that one day we will call this a most courageous and farsighted decision."

Many observers note that the accords reached are an honorable compromise. "The Federal chancellor also made important concessions, to our allies' displeasure," the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG writes. "He made commitments regarding a numerical limit on the combined German forces of 370,000 men; he gave an assurance that no allied units will be introduced into what is now GDR territory, from which Gorbachev concludes that this will be a space free of nuclear weapons. Gorbachev can now rely on the accords in the military sphere achieved with Kohl when it comes to the U.S. nuclear facilities on West German soil."

Some comments express the opinion that the USSR's position was motivated by its well-known economic difficulties and the expectation of major West German aid. However, Finance Minister T. Waigel, a participant in the visit, stated that in Moscow "no check" was presented for reunification. He stressed that support for the Soviet policy of reforms and an accord on expanding economic cooperation with the USSR is in Germany's own interests.

There has been a great positive response to the idea of concluding a treaty which would be the basis of the new relations between the Soviet Union and the united Germany. Reactions to the results of the Soviet-West German meeting again highlight the almost universal agreement of political forces here on the promising nature of partnership with us.

Whenever Bonn and Moscow move toward agreement on problems of major policy and bilateral relations, the question of the FRG's mutual relations with its allies crops up. The chancellor at a press news, other Bonn figures, and the press stress in particular that the new accords are in the interests of all Europe, East-West cooperation, and reliable peace.

In conclusion, it is appropriate to recall that it was at this very time 45 years ago that the victorious powers' conference began in Potsdam. Today it is clear to see that the main precept of Potsdam, namely that war should never again break out on German soil, is essentially being fulfilled and there are justified hopes that henceforth only peace will emanate from this land.

Signals 'Trust, Cooperation'

PM1907132390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by S. Guk: "USSR-FRG Dialogue: Who Conceded More to Whom?"]

[Text] It is not hard to imagine that the results of the meeting between USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and FRG Chancellor H. Kohl will by no means be approved by everyone in the country. Voices will be raised (we have already heard them, and from lofty rostrums too) claiming that we are again making unilateral concessions and giving up our positions one after another.

Let us try to imagine the situation we would be in today if events developed according to the scenario favored by supporters of the "fight to the death, but don't waive your principles" approach. Last fall there was massive unrest in the GDR accompanied by demands for the ruling elite to resign and for the country to unite with the FRG. The logic of the "traditionalists" would have been to prevent this from happening, to restore order, and to provide fraternal aid. Quite simply, to use troops and tanks to drive the population back into the heavenly arms of "real socialism." To play out a new version of Hungary or Czechoslovakia.

Suppose it had succeeded. What would have been the result? The GDR would have been a new caldron threatening to explode at any moment. The USSR would have been isolated across the board, not just by the West. Instead of disarmament there would be new NATO military programs to which we would have to provide an "appropriate response," devastating the country's already meager resources. The situation in Europe would be oppressive and fraught with conflicts. Not a bad "addition" to our domestic problems....

In the prevailing situation Moscow took the only possible and sensible step: It finally recognized the peoples' right to self-determination enshrined in the USSR's international commitments. And it did no more than that. Let us not forget that the further development of events in central Europe did not proceed haphazardly. Our diplomacy did not lose sight of the USSR's security interests for one second.

As far as those who think in terms of World Wars I and II are concerned, we made unforgivable concessions, losing our "spheres of influence." For those who can see the realities of our nuclear and technological age, we won. Instead of security based on the principle of "who can destroy whom and how many times in the event of war," we acquired new security. It deserves to be called that if only for the fact that both East and West will have no physical capacity to wage offensive wars in the foreseeable future.

Incidentally, isn't this in principle what we were striving for throughout the postwar years, producing at talks as if from a horn of plenty various disarmament options, including complete and general disarmament? But we never managed to get any further than just individual agreements with the West. Of course, each of those agreements was very important in itself, but the security problem as a whole was not solved. Why? It is very simple: They did not believe in the honesty of our intentions (and they had some grounds for so doing); we for our part did not believe them.

What have we gained as a result not only of the current accords between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kohl and what will we gain in the future? As has already been said—first, real rather than declared security. Second, partners rather than enemies. Partners ready to help us to get our firmly bogged down economy moving. Read closely the statements by the Soviet and FRG leaders at the press conference reported on page four. They say far more than a brief commentary could.

It is now a question not of who has gained more but of who has lost out because of the compromises—both today's and tomorrow's. East and West have left the "warpath" and have embarked on the road of trust and cooperation. In such cases there are no losers.

Kohl's Visit 'Removes Obstacles'

LD1907143390 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Commentary by Anatoliy Potapov—read by announcer]

[Excerpts] President Mikhail Gorbachev has described the recent visit by Chancellor Kohl to the Soviet Union as a major event of our time. Our analyst Anatoliy Potapov comments on its results and on some aspects of German unification.

He writes: I'd like you to note the way in which a foundation is being laid for European stability. Its cornerstones will be first the final document of the two-plus-four session. All obstacles to it seem to have been removed by the results of the meeting between Gorbachev and Kohl. [passage omitted] Because it has lately become abundantly clear that German unification is not a continuation of confrontation in Europe but a stage in healing its split. Chancellor Kohl's visit to the Soviet Union has been important in this respect.

When people here talk of European unity and security structures they often wonder what is meant by that precisely. The answer is emerging now. That includes a future declaration of nonaggression and cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, their interaction and transformation into political alliances. Next a comprehensive treaty between the Soviet Union and Germany, reduction of the German arsenals, a Berlin based center for preventing conflicts, a center for exchanging defense intelligence and other structures and forms of cooperation made possible by the new epoch in international relations.

The characteristic features of this new epoch are mutual understanding, compromise, and realism. All those factors, concludes Anatoliy Potapov, are already instrumental in solving the difficult German question.

More on Visit by European Community's Delors

Meets With Ryzhkov

LD1907135190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul (TASS)—The prospects for cooperation between the USSR and the European Community in light of the conditions developing in the profound transformation process in the Soviet Union were examined at a meeting held in the Kremlin today between Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Jacques Delors, president of the Commission of the European Community. He is in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

Both sides expressed satisfaction that the long-term agreement on trade, commercial, and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European Community, signed at the end of 1989, has entered the phase of practical implementation.

The results of the Dublin session of the European Council and of the meeting of the leaders of the seven leading Western states in Houston were assessed positively. The possibilities of the European Community lending financial and economic assistance to perestroyka in the USSR were examined.

The discussion of problems connected with the unification of Germany occupied a special place in the conversation. Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed that the gradual inclusion of the GDR into the sphere of influence of the EEC should not lead to the lowering of the level of economic relations between the USSR and the GDR or complicate the possibilities for advancing the export of Soviet goods to Germany.

Ryzhkov Stresses Ties Over 'Rivalry'

LD1907202890 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—"For a long time, the centralised and managed administratively economy that established in the Soviet Union was considered unable to cooperate constructively with the Western economy based on market relations. But the time has come and the restructuring of the pattern has begun," Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov said today.

He was speaking at the luncheon given by the Soviet Government in honour of visiting President of the European Communities Commission Jacques Delors.

The Soviet economy's transition to market relations makes broad and effective cooperation with West European countries possible and lays a solid material foundation to the all-European process, the Soviet prime minister said.

"It is very important that you in Western Europe and we in the Soviet Union, following different roads, are approaching one truth—the growing interdependence of states eliminates the use of force as a political means and makes it necessary to observe the balance of interests and approach the existing problems from the point of view of cooperation, rather than rivalry," Ryzhkov said.

He noted that the Soviet Union understands that it will take time for it to enter fully the system of trade and economic ties that make up the carcass of West European integration, but it will be a historic mistake to wait idly for such a moment.

The Soviet Union welcomed the decision of the Dublin meeting of the EC heads of state and government to hold consultations with the Soviet Government to render practical assistance to perestroyka. It was interpreted here as a manifestation of good will and readiness of the European Communities to promote economic restructuring in the Soviet Union, Ryzhkov said.

Ryzhkov said negotiations with Delors inspire optimism about great potential opportunities of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European Communities. The realisation of these opportunities will benefit the Soviet people and all peoples of Europe and the world, he said.

Delors Confers With Shevardnadze

LD1907192490 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today received visiting President of the European Communities Commission Jacques Delors.

They noted that deep positive changes in Europe and decisions on foreign aspects of German unification that, according to Delors, demanded courage and foresight, open up inexhaustible opportunities for political and economic cooperation.

The EC is searching for ways to include the Soviet Union in the world economy, rather than render assistance to it, Delors said.

The two sides suggested specific steps to develop cooperation between the Soviet Union and EC on the basis of the December 1989 agreement.

Later in the day, Delors was received at the Soviet parliament's International Affairs Committee. Discussed were prospects for the development of integration processes within the EC and their correlation with the movement toward an all-European economic sphere.

They noted the need to establish broad cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European Communities, with due account of Soviet perestroyka and economic reforms to form a regulated market economy on the basis of new legislation that is being elaborated.

They also discussed measures to promote the Soviet Union's involvement in world economic ties.

Gorbachev Praises 'Unprecedented' Visit

LD1907092790 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev received European Communities Commission Chairman Jacques Delors, on an official visit to the Soviet Union, in his study in the Kremlin today.

Gorbachev praised Delors' visit as unprecedented, saying that it reflected positive changes in Europe and the world.

Earlier today Delors had talks with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov. The two discussed Soviet economic reforms and their prospects, Deputy Prime Minister Stepan Sitaryan, who attended the talks, said.

Delors expressed understanding about changes going on in the Soviet Union.

The sides also discussed ways of incorporating the Soviet Union into global economic ties and expanding its relations with the European Community. They also discussed aid to the Soviet Union. Ryzhkov said that only a mutually beneficial cooperation is being discussed.

Delors Comments on Goals

LD1907211390 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 20 TASS—"We hope to create a big Europe that could be a big space of peace, prosperity, exchanges in international and European relations," President of the European Communities Commissions Jacques Delors said on Thursday at a luncheon given by the Soviet Government in his honour.

Such a Europe cannot be built from scratch. It is necessary to take into account history, cultural, economic and technical ties that have formed in Europe in the past 40 years, Delors said. Let there be no more wars, including "cold wars," Delors said.

Speaking of the creation of the European Communities, Delors noted that it became possible due to the use of three principles—conciliation of competition, solidarity and cooperation, cancellation of all restrictions for contacts and respect for interests of all nations and peoples.

He said all European Communities member-countries can make their contribution to restructuring in the Soviet Union. "We can cooperate with you on the road that should finally lead to well-being and peace," he said.

Delors thanked the Soviet Government for warm reception and substantial talks and wished success to perestroyka.

PRAVDA Assesses Gorbachev-Delors Talks

PM1907211590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting with J. Delors"]

[Text] On 19 July the USSR president received in the Kremlin Jacques Delors, president of the CEC [Commission of the European Communities], who is in Moscow to discuss questions connected with the realization of the agreement concluded recently between the CEC and the USSR.

To judge from the stated aims of the visit, the CEC leadership has serious intentions. Proceeding from this, M.S. Gorbachev made a frank assessment of the situation and of the significance which we attach to cooperation with the European Communities. Everything that has developed in the country, the president said, has approached a phase which will specifically determine the constructive channel of the powerful social movement which has burst forth like a huge spring previously compressed by the edict-administrative system. It is hard to imagine that a turn by such a country as ours toward new forms of life could proceed easily—as if calculated by computer.

However, a mood is now taking shape among the people—to get through the transitional period more quickly. There are two central points here—economic reform and the transformation of the Union.

I reject panicky assessments of our economic possibilities. The potential is inexhaustible. But the situation in which we find ourselves is a result of the exclusion of man's interests. Therefore the key aspect now is economic freedom, free choice of ownership and of forms of management, and, thus, the market. Hence the need for appropriate regulating structures—a system of social protection, taxes, banks, exchanges, etc.

Of course we need experience, particularly experience which has produced major positive results, as has happened in the "Common Market." We have begun to study it ourselves, but it would be still better to do this in cooperation with its representatives.

There are two viewpoints. One is this: The more restrained the West is now in economic relations with the USSR, the more quickly the latter will be forced to move its reforms. The other viewpoint is this: If foreign economic cooperation enables the Soviet Union to maneuver resources more freely, it will be able to go over more decisively and more quickly to a new economic system. In the first case it will have to resort to the old, administrative regulators, thereby delaying the process of transformations and making it more painful.

This is now a critical time. And right now we must feel the real fruits of the understanding that perestroyka is not only our business: It concerns everyone and is in the interests of the whole world. We for our part will continue improving foreign economic legislation and will more quickly resolve questions which facilitate the switch to a convertible ruble.

Jacques Delors expounded in detail the aims of his visit. During August he would like to prepare his report to the Council of Europe with an analysis of the Soviet economy and specific proposals concerning large-scale cooperation.

He shared experience of the development of the "Common Market," which by 1992 scales a new height—economic union, with a single currency, and a high level of political integration. Despite all the difficulties and ups and downs, when it was very hard to convince anyone of the need for particular bold measures, in the end success was achieved thanks to an awareness of the interdependence of the European and the world economies and an understanding of the need for concrete solidarity among the member countries.

In passing, Delors drew attention to the intention of the parliaments of some of our union republics to introduce their own special currency. This, he said, "simply frightened me," for it is so at variance with the healthy trends of modern economics.

M.S. Gorbachev declared that CEC representatives will have every opportunity for very broad discussions and to obtain the information necessary for determining the most productive areas and forms of economic cooperation with the USSR—at this moment and also in the short and the long term.

The question of Germany's unification in the context of the all-European process and arms reduction in Europe was touched upon. The most urgent thing now is to do everything to ensure that Germany's unification promotes the building of a new Europe and does not complicate the beneficial, positive trends which have emerged in recent years.

Both sides emphasized the significance of the organic inclusion of the United States and Canada in the European process.

M.S. Gorbachev once again mentioned the negative role of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls, which has already lost its military significance in practice and serves only as a weapon in the struggle against competitors. At the same time it is seriously hampering the work of forming a European economic expanse.

Arms reduction, the transformation of military alliances, and the creation of new security structures are a decisive precondition for building the new Europe. But without corresponding institutions of economic, cultural, ecological, and information cooperation there is no point in thinking about a new Europe. This is a long road. But we have made our choice and are ready jointly to flesh it out with specific substance.

It is very important now to restrain the powerful process of change, which promises a stupendous turn in all world development, to keep it within a framework such that it does not cause upheavals but takes place as the great common cause of all of Europe, for the good of the world community.

Precisely political dialogue, M.S. Gorbachev concluded, initiated the positive processes in the world and has brought us to a level of trust which has made it possible to impart to them a dynamic nature and the necessary stability. But the policy will begin to be exhausted unless it is underpinned by adequate changes in economic cooperation and, in the final analysis, by new human relations. All this is interconnected.

Participating in the talks were S.A. Sitaryan, A.S. Chernyayev, F. Andriessen, and P. Lamy.

Cyprus' Request for EEC Membership Examined

PM1907135390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jul 90 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by PRAVDA correspondent V. Potapov under the rubric "Economic Barometer": "Cyprus and the Common Market"]

[Text] Athens—The Republic of Cyprus has officially requested membership of the Common Market. Addressing the people after the decision had been made by the government, President of the Republic Y. Vasiliou called this day "historic."

At the same time, the step taken by Nicosia has prompted conflicting reactions both on the island and outside it.

Cyprus' joining of the Community will have negative consequences in the immediate and long-term future, the Cyprus Restorative Party of the Working People (AKEL) Central Committee Secretariat said. What is the reason for this stand by AKEL?

According to the party, Cyprus' membership of the EEC is not in the republic's interests in either political or socioeconomic respects. This step does not accord with the country's policy of nonalignment. Because if Cyprus becomes a member of the Community, it will be obliged to follow the instructions of EEC bodies in its foreign policy. AKEL believes that the country's agrarian sector and industry will be dealt a serious blow, as they will find themselves in unequal conditions of competition with West European producers.

The consequences of the country joining the EEC could be particularly negative for Cypriot working people. AKEL stresses that this step will lead directly to abolition of the system whereby wages are automatically brought into line with the average growth in prices, and also to an end to financial aid for farmers.

Unemployment and inflation, which are at present virtually unknown in Cyprus, will rise sharply and reach the level of the EEC member-states. Stark reality, the statement stresses, forces dissociation from the almost idyllic picture being drawn by advocates of EEC membership for Cyprus.

AKEL disagrees with the argument that joining the EEC will help to solve the Cyprus problem. That is nothing more than wishful thinking rather than realistic analysis based on facts.

As far as Cyprus' neighbor, Turkey, is concerned, the Community's policy toward that country, the document says, is determined by the economic and political interests of the EEC countries. Recently Turkey's geopolitical importance has clearly increased in their eyes. With regard to the EEC's specific economic and political interests in Turkey, they have not changed to such an extent that one could expect the Community's policy on the Cyprus issue to turn in the direction of effectively contributing to its resolution.

Nicosia's application for EEC membership is being viewed in various ways abroad. For example, whereas the Greek Government has responded enthusiastically to Cyprus' request, it is known that London has commented negatively on Nicosia's initiative, stressing that the island still has unsolved problems.

German Elections Threaten Regional Party's Clout

PM1907120790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Dispatch by PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Grigoryev under the general heading "International Information": "Review of Forces Before Elections: Christian Social Union Congress in Bavaria"]

[Text] Bonn, 15 Jul—A regular congress of the Christian Social Union [CSU] took place in Nuremberg. At it the Bavarian party prepared for action in the forthcoming October land elections and the German general election expected at the end of the year.

In Bavaria itself the preservation of the CSU's longstanding autocracy is far from guaranteed. This year's municipal elections showed that the Social Democrats are "hot on their heels." The "republicans" are having another revival on the extreme right wing. So, in the land context, the congress was a review of forces before the October elections.

The peculiarity of the CSU as a regional party consists, however, in the fact that in alliance with the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] it has played a vital part on the federal stage throughout the FRG's entire history. However, in a united Germany the CSU's clout will decrease. The thought of how to prevent such a development greatly troubles Bavarian politicians.

The support of CSU-affiliated parties in the GDR is seen as a solution. On the other hand, the congress showed the persistent line of the CSU's political upper echelons of strengthening federative foundations and expanding lands' rights within the framework of a constitutional federation. Emerging as the ideologist behind such aspirations is Bavarian Minister-President M. Streibl, who recalled that this land's official name is the Free State of Bavaria. It must not be "crushed" by the mass of a future all-German federation.

In the foreign policy section of his congress speech, CSU Chairman T. Waigel expressed his agreement with the federal government's policy. In particular he favored the comprehensive development of businesslike cooperation with the USSR and an international program of collaboration on the Soviet economy's transition to a market basis. The CSU, however, added its own nuance to the border question. In a resolution adopted with only one vote against, the Bavarian party, while agreeing to the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border as "the price of reunification," declared as inadequate a future treaty between Poland and a united Germany which would record only the fact of this border's recognition. The resolution puts forward the demand for Poland to agree by treaty to secure "the rights of German national groups."

Finns Delay Transit of Soviet Jews to Israel

LD1907153190 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1300 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The transit of Soviet Jews via Finland has been delayed for security reasons. A representative of the Jewish Agency, which is responsible for Jewish immigration to Jerusalem, says that in addition to security problems, the transit has been delayed by technical matters which he did not, however, want to specify.

The representative of the agency says that the date when the flights will start is still open. According to earlier estimates, the flights from Lappeenranta were due to start next Tuesday [24 July].

Austrian Chancellor Interviewed on Ties, Changes

PM1807143990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 90 Second Edition p 7

[Interview by PRAVDA correspondent I. Melnikov with Austrian Chancellor F. Vranitzky: "'We Are Living in a Rivetingly Interesting Time'"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Vienna, July—Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky of Austria has received PRAVDA's own correspondent I. Melnikov at his official residence on Ballhausplatz in Vienna. During a one-hour conversation the Austrian Government head answered the following questions: [passage omitted]

[Melnikov] How do you see relations with the renewed Soviet Union in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres? Is it right to say that you have been luckier than your predecessors in the sense that you have held the post of head of the Austrian Government during the years of Soviet perestroyka? What is aiding success in Austro-Soviet relations and what is hindering them?

[Vranitzky] I think that on the whole every generation meets with a certain range of problems, both those that are pleasant and those that are somewhat more awkward. My predecessors and their predecessors in 1955 faced a very great problem, to be precise—the occupation of the country by the four coalition powers. However, they were also lucky to be working at a time when world political circumstances coincided, in which the signing of the State Treaty became possible.

We are living today, undoubtedly, in a rivetingly interesting time. The strivings for renewal in the Soviet Union put us in a position in which the further development of bilateral relations must be built on the basis of accumulated gains. And if I look at all the encouraging things that are happening in relations between our states in the economic and cultural spheres and other spheres of human contact, then I am glad to be working at such a time.

You asked me what obstacles I find. I do not think that there are any for me, I am talking about the things that form part of our present-day concerns. The structure that was established and existed in the Soviet Union in past years was well known to us and it doesn't matter whether I call it good or bad, what matters is that we became accustomed to it and knew how to get on with you. This means that, for the sake of maintaining relations, part of the task today is to become acquainted with the new structures that are being created in the Soviet Union and use them to establish contacts.

[Melnikov] In the postwar period it was customary to call Austria the "bridge between East and West." But how is your government acting in the new conditions, what are its plans for cooperation with the East European states? What has already been done in this field and what specific plans are there? And finally, is Vienna not afraid of losing that role in connection with the forthcoming unification of Germany?

[Vranitzky] I would like to clarify the term "bridge." Among the many opportunities that any state has to determine its own role, I would highlight two. One is the building of bilateral relations with other countries, for example, with all the East European countries—from Hungary to the Soviet Union. We have always performed that role as an independent, small, but self-confident state. I think that it would be wrong to talk of a linking function. Austrians have remained themselves, as have the citizens of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or the Soviet Union. Thus there can be no question of a "bridge." Rightly so, because many people cross a bridge but no one lives on one.

The second opportunity for defining the state's role is in the realization of its role as a place for establishing international ties. In this sense Austria has served many times as the venue for important meetings. We have staged Soviet-U.S. summits and organized big international conferences. We are the third UN center, and for a considerable time have hosted the continuation of the Helsinki conference. Thus I am trying to say that both roles—the independent and the international, a venue for meetings—have not changed at all. And if now other peoples and states are becoming increasingly active in the international sphere, as is demonstrated, for example, by Havel's striving to bring Prague to the forefront, or the similar desire of the Germans to achieve the same in regard to Berlin, this does not worry me. This is natural competition.

You mentioned the question of German unification. The Germans' right to unite the two states if their peoples want it is indisputable. Nor is there any doubt that a united Germany will become larger and, as the years pass, economically more powerful than now. In the postwar years, however, we in Europe have learned to live together better than before 1945. Much, and in many respects, bitter experience has been accumulated. Many international organizations have been created which make the coexistence of states peaceful. And here one cannot deny the contribution of Gorbachev and the Soviet Union's present political leadership, who have made a great contribution to removing the contradictions and creating the conditions for stability and peaceful coexistence.

[Melnikov] The determination with which Austria has been applying for membership of the EC is well known. Such consistency deserves respect. However, are you fully convinced that it is worth the trouble? And why is cooperation within EFTA not enough for Austria?

[Vranitzky] For two reasons. The first is Austria's close economic ties with the EEC. There is no better way to take advantage of our opportunity than to become a fully fledged member of the single European market. Furthermore, I am convinced that it is worth the trouble because Austria, in view of its general potential—economic, political, cultural—and its geopolitical and geographical position, can make a good contribution to European integration.

Cooperation with EFTA and the EEC is of great importance. Just a few days ago in Sweden, and then in Brussels, decisions were adopted on a mandate of talks on the creation of a European economic zone. These are very important and necessary decisions. The European economic zone, no matter how extensive it is, is not entirely equivalent to participation in the Common Market.

[Melnikov] On the eve of the 35th anniversary of the State Treaty, an Austrian colleague of mine, the chief editor of one of the country's largest publications, sent me an article published by his newspaper in which the writer H. Schneider, a university professor, asks: Has neutrality not become a sacred cow for the Austrians? How do you rate the role of the policy of permanent neutrality for present-day Austria?

[Vranitzky] I am convinced that neutrality has not become a sacred cow. Neutrality has many aspects. But I would like to stress one which stands apart from our present public discussions. Namely—the emotional aspect. It is necessary to understand present-day Austria not only from the standpoint of 1990 but also from the viewpoint of the historical path that it has traveled in our century. From the beginning of the century until 1945, that is, almost half a century, the country's existence was placed in jeopardy through its own fault.

The last years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire already contained the seed of the subsequent destruction and decline. After all, World War I did not just cause an explosion in the multinational state which led to the emergence of nationalism. There were very many people who could no longer exist in the framework of the monarchy's social foundations. When as a result of World War I the multinational state was destroyed and only a small German-speaking fragment with a population of 7.5 million people remained (whereas previously the population numbered almost 60 million!) there were many people in Austria who considered it unviable. Then there appeared a tendency advocating union with Germany.

The economic and social situation in the twenties was catastrophic, in the thirties became even worse—mass unemployment and the rapid growth of inflation—and reached its tragic culmination in Austria during the civil war of 1934. After the civil war the Austrian fascists came to power. By that time parliament had already been dissolved. One of the consequences was the establishment of national socialist rule, which became a rule of fear and terror: then World War II began. Austrians who had been on opposite sides during the civil war—Social Democrats and Christian Socialists—found themselves in the Nazi jails and concentration camps together and vowed not to let the country be split like that again. Work continued in this vein after 1945. The positive achievement of this century was undoubtedly the State Treaty of 1955. It did not include the concept of neutrality although neutrality was a by-product of the State Treaty.

The point of this historical digression is to stress that neutrality was one of the most important binding elements whereby a small state and its citizens acquired their own identity. This made it possible in the decades after 1955 not only to successfully cope with the tasks of economic building but also to completely avoid becoming embroiled in international conflicts. And therefore, under no threat from any quarter, we were able to lay the foundations of today's high standards. Today we are one of the richest countries in the world. And this neutrality is a significant part of the countless ingredients constituting the country's identity and therefore is all the more welcome but is not a sacred cow.

The modern Austria of the nineties, with its aspirations toward integration and the new principles of the architecture in Europe, will not deviate from that policy of neutrality. The neutrality policy can be adapted in some way to the changed conditions, although as regards its essence, or more precisely not only taking pains to ensure that Austria is not drawn into military activity but also tries with might and main to oppose it, the essence remains, and must remain, and I do not think that it can be discredited by concepts such as "sacred cow." And if, as some people now claim, neutrality will eventually become redundant when all conflicts in Europe and the world disappear, then perhaps they will be right. But we have not yet reached that stage. [passage omitted]

Protocol Eases Visa Restrictions With Turkey

LD1907155790 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—It was formally announced here that Soviet-Turkish consultations on consular matters were held during Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Chaplin's stay in Turkey. A protocol was signed on exchanging notes about simplifying visa formalities.

The exchanged notes deal with an intergovernmental agreement strictly regulating the time frame for considering visa applications for various categories of people—those making trips as part of exchanges of government, parliament, and other official delegations, as well as trips for economic, commercial, scientific, technological, tourist and other purposes.

In particular, visas to members of official delegations, inter-governmental commissions and groups, representatives of financial, economic, and business circles will be issued within two working days. Five days are set aside for participants in cultural exchange programmes, sports events, festivals and concerts, and tourist groups coming for not more than 15 days.

Hijack Attempt to Turkey 18 July Foiled

LD1807142590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1346 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jul (TASS)—An attempt to hijack to Turkey a USSR Civil Aviation Tu-134 aircraft with 75 passengers on board was foiled today as a result of decisive actions by the crew.

USSR Deputy Minister of Civil Aviation Mikhail Timofeyev told a TASS correspondent that at 1330 Moscow time the airliner took off from Odessa (in southern Ukraine) for Sukhumi (in Georgia). At 1421 one of the passengers demanded that the crew change course and fly to Turkey, threatening that he would otherwise blow up the aircraft.

The airliner's crew contacted the preflight security check service on the ground and was told that the checks had been conducted minutely. After this they made the decision to render the criminal harmless themselves. At 1520 the aircraft landed successfully at Sukhumi Airport.

Mikhail Timofeyev said that preliminary inquiries show that the hijack attempt was made by one Vitaliy Lata, born in Odessa in 1967. Lata had recently been working as a loader at a clothing factory in Odessa. An inquiry has begun into his case.

Swedish Official Cited on Hijacker's Extradition

LD1907162890 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Taras Lariokhin]

[Text] Stockholm July 19 TASS—There are no legal reasons to prevent the extradition of Anatoliy Mikhailenko to Soviet authorities, Swedish Procurator General Torsten Jonsson said. His investigation into the case should shortly be followed by a decision by the Swedish Supreme Court.

Mikhailenko hijacked an Aeroflot aircraft to Sweden at the end of June.

Dmitriy Semenov, 17, who hijacked the first in a series of recent hijacks to Stockholm, said he had done so for personal reasons. Mikhailenko, 19, explained his action by his wish to evade military service.

The procurator general said in both cases the graveness of the crime was far more serious than human reasons that would allow the hijackers to remain in Sweden.

According to Jonsson, Mikhailenko may be extradited on condition that he is punished in the Soviet Union only for the hijacking and that he will not be charged with draft dodging and the unlawful crossing of the border.

Swedish judicial bodies are also investigating the last case in the series of hijacks. Procurator Solveig Riberdahl, who studied the two previous cases, is empowered to decide if there are any legal reasons against the extradition of 18 year-old Mikhail Mokretsov to the Soviet Union.

Lawyers Study UK's 'Independent' Civil Service

PM2007100190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Krivopalov: "Bureaucrats Aren't Bad. Discussion at Britain's Civil Service College"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] London—The other day I met with V.F. Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice, in London. He was heading a delegation of Soviet lawyers here. Answering a question about the main aim of its visit to Britain, Veniamin Fedorovich said:

"We decided above all to familiarize ourselves here with the legal regulation of the Civil Service. After all, our country is to a considerable extent shaping a new state legal system at the moment. In particular, the idea of a law on the state service is being nurtured. And, of course, in the process of working on this draft law we would like to examine the experience and principles of the functioning of the civil service in Britain. The choice is also explained, perhaps, by the fact that there is a special department here which handles this. We are convinced we've made the right choice. The British experience is indeed interesting. Despite changes of political course, when first one party then another comes to power, the British ship of state retains its stability and is not subject to any serious disruption. This, I think, interesting feature of the Civil Service's organization makes it possible to select the best-trained, intellectually creative, and efficient staff."

[Krivopalov] And sufficiently independent staff?

[Yakovlev] Yes, sufficiently independent by dint of the fact that they're good professionals.

28th CPSU Congress

Gorbachev Exchange With Local Officials Noted

90UN2357B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 28, 14-20 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by V. Bragin, first secretary of the Tsentralnyy CPSU Raykom of the City of Tver, delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress, and RSFSR people's deputy: "The Last Supper"]

[Text] **From the brief report in PRAVDA about the meeting of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with the first secretaries of raykoms [rayon party committees] and gorkoms [city party committees] it is impossible to get an idea of the essence of what happened in the hall of the Great Kremlin Palace, the same one where quite recently people's deputies of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] applauded the adoption of the Declaration of Sovereignty of Russia and the Decree on Power.**

V. Bragin, first secretary of the Tsentralnyy CPSU Raykom, delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress and RSFSR people's deputy, shares his impressions.

On the Same Team, But With Whom?

I think that M.S. Gorbachev had staked a lot on this meeting. The situation at the 28th congress—essentially the successor of the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR—did not develop in his favor. The right-wingers, as it were, had a gut feeling that this would be their hour of glory: They could oust Gorbachev from the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and put "their own" person on the party throne.

Persistently and methodically they increased their critical attacks on the general secretary, they became ever more bitter and insulting in their lashing remarks against him personally and his brainchild—perestroyka, the very idea of it. Many of the accusations were just, but it became more and more obvious that someone was directing and imposing a conclusion on the congress: Gorbachev and his accomplices in the Politburo were the main parties to blame for all the troubles. They were the ones who had led the country and the party to the point of collapse.

Open Discussion

Thus M.S. Gorbachev got the idea of the "open question," the main one which tormented him and the one which, after a brief statement, he cast out into the hall:

"With the applause there was a suggestion to declare the work of the Central Committee unsatisfactory. Does this mean that our course has been incorrect?..."

And here something happened which the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee apparently did not expect. From the immense hall resounded an affirmative:

"Yes!... Yes!... Yes!..."

The fight had been started, and Gorbachev boldly jumped into it.

"This is the most dangerous thing that has happened at this congress!... Comrades!... Use your heads. If you have come here for a quick trial the congress will not fulfill its tasks. This will be the party's funeral. We will be called grave diggers. If you have come here for this purpose... Then do it, but you will have to answer to the people."

This was a bitter and unrestrained accusation, and the hum of voices and disturbance filled the hall.

What happened next will undoubtedly remain a disgrace in the history of the 28th CPSU Congress and an embarrassment for the general secretary. One of the rayon party leaders demanded:

"Take away the television. Otherwise our discussion will not turn out the way it should!..."

And Gorbachev gave in. In the vain hope somehow to win the hall over to his side, to restore the disappearing contact, he put this ultimatum to a vote, the results of which were already obvious.

At the First RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies in this hall there was a moment that was similar in some ways: The chairman, the ranking apparatchik, V. Kazakov, threatening to call in the Kremlin commandant, had the old Russian flag removed from the hall.

I do not think anyone has spoken to Gorbachev this way in all of his political career. This was an overt mass attack. The purpose was, if not to knock him off his feet, to move him as far as possible to the right.

The next day at the congress delegate V. Gayvoronskiy recalled the folk lullaby: "An old man can also be beaten better in a gang"—which met with laughter and applause... And in a gang they beat him...

Interrogation Under Torture

Gorbachev was at the podium. All alone facing the hall. The next question:

"As a result of the Central Committee policy even that which was bad was destroyed. People are without stockings or food... You are a part of this. Perestroyka is not viable. It is not tied to practical actions. Do you recognize this or not?"

"I do not agree with the position that during the years of the five-year plan we have done nothing, that everything has been bad... I am not foisting my views on you and you will not foist yours on me... But you must think deeply. Were it not for perestroyka, within a short time there would be an all-Russian explosion. You have your opinion and I have mine. I shall defend it..."

But now for the people in the hall he was only a person on whom, as a single guilty party, they could heap all of their hostility for the growing hopelessness, the destruction of ideals, of that to which many had devoted the best years of their life.

"From your introduction I understood that we are closer to capitalism than to socialism..."

And another time:

"One gets the impression that you are indifferent to the cadres. You have stated that the country and the congress hall are not adequate to one another in all ways. In the country there is perhaps more desire to move forward, and not shift from one foot to the other..."

The general secretary tried to keep it down but sometimes he himself lost his patience:

"You hear me out! Do not act like you are at a rally! Do not be in a hurry! I shall finish my thought anyway!... Why have you worked yourself up so?"

And suddenly in this brouhaha there was a nervous shout from one of the participants in the meeting:

"Comrade secretaries!... I am ashamed of you!..."

As a sign of protest he left the hall, but even that did not have an effect...

Gorbachev defended himself again...

"Well, let us elect the general secretary!... All right. I will sit down and let you talk!"

At that moment in irritation he actually did sit down, but the questions did not stop and he returned to the podium:

"Why are those who defend the party immediately labeled conservatives?"...

And another question—a reprimand!...

"Your report to the congress was weak. If I had given such a report at the plenum there would have been nothing left of me. Stop blaming your predecessors. Take a course toward strengthening discipline. Let us do less talking. You were very little help in the elections..."

Gorbachev:

"I will not take up your time with superfluous proof in response to the assertion that during the years of the five-year plan everything has fallen apart. You say that my report was weak, below the level of the rayon...well send me yours and I will have it reproduced and distributed to the congress for comparison... Would you like me to wave my sword at the congress?..."

Perhaps I am mistaken and wanted to be mistaken, but at a certain moment it seemed to me that Gorbachev shuddered and almost gave in. But this fear did not last long, although the intensity increased.

"Why did you not tell the truth in your report? Three CPSU detachments in the Baltics have practically been routed. What will happen to the republics, to the people who do not want to stay under a capitalist system?"...

"The Central Committee has cast the fate of the raykoms and gorkoms to the winds..."

The meeting was not interrupted for more than two hours.

Who Is at Our Side and Who Is in Front?

The situation becomes more dramatic each day. What lies ahead. The president of a Union with a sovereign and independent Russia, without the Baltics and, perhaps, without some others as well? Then president of what? Of what country?...

And next to us are the generals. And the KGB all around. In the cities the Army of the party-soviet apparatus in alliance with the industrial and agrarian establishment. Just call and in a second they are ready to stand up in defense of "socialist" values, against the "loudmouths" and "slanderers"...

Not only participants in the meeting in the Kremlin palace but also all of our society are now waiting for M.S. Gorbachev to move beyond half measures. But the 28th CPSU Congress and before that the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party show that so far he cannot do this, he cannot fill this role completely and candidly answer all questions.

Moscow Party Chief Views Party Congress

PM1907105790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jul 90 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "Democratization of the Party Is a Reality. The Congress As Delegates See It": "Yu.A. Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and First Secretary of the Moscow Party Gorkom"]

[Text] During a press conference at Moscow CPSU Gorkom [City Party Committee] for Soviet and foreign journalists, Yu.A. Prokofyev briefly summed up the results of the 28th CPSU Congress, dwelling on the most dramatic moments which in his view definitely made their mark on the overall context of the decisions adopted by the congress. First, the demand by some delegates for the Central Committee's work to be deemed unsatisfactory. This is not going to affect the course of perestroyka in society, but it has enabled all its opponents to join forces, he said.

The second element was the election of the CPSU Central Committee deputy general secretary. It was a surprise when Ye.K. Ligachev did not withdraw his candidacy. He overestimated his supporters' strength.

The third awkward moment arose during the elections of party Central Committee members when the more radical candidates, who had delivered brilliant, vehement, problem-related speeches at the congress, received the smallest number of votes. It is hard to imagine the consequences of this approach to the formation of the party's leading organ. The congress is all the more significant in terms of its decisions, Yuriy Anatolyevich stressed, in that prudent steps were ultimately taken and the congress heeded the voice of reason in all the aforementioned situations—republic communist party secretaries and people building on the ideas of perestroyka were brought in to the Central Committee.

In response to journalists' questions, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo member pointed out that the democratization of the party has become a reality. After all, the CPSU Congress Program Statement is fundamentally different from the draft published previously. The party statutes, which include more than 40 proposals from Moscow communists, have been considerably renewed. Party leading organs have been formed on qualitatively new principles: For instance, there is no one in the Politburo who determines economic policy in the country. Thus the party's avowed separation of functions has finally been implemented.

Yu.A. Prokofyev spoke about the series of applications to leave the CPSU without a trace of emotion, noting that some people have been entering the party for many years now for careerist considerations rather than out of conviction. It is natural that there people are leaving, since CPSU membership provides no advantages today and in some areas is even becoming dangerous.

In the first half of this year 23,000 people, half of whom were workers, left the CPSU in Moscow. The correlation may also be the same in other cities. This illustrates that the party has, in his opinion, failed to take account of the working class, especially since the latter has obtained least from perestroyka—people's standard of living is dropping.

As for B.N. Yeltsin's leaving the party, this is extremely distressing, he said. Yeltsin was, after all, raised by the party. But this step does not mean that all the chairmen of the soviets of people's deputies will invariably follow him. We must work with communists in the soviets.

A question was also asked regarding his opinion of Sunday's rally in the center of the capital.

In Yu.A. Prokofyev's opinion, the figure for the number of people involved in it does not reflect the sentiment prevailing among Muscovites. There are antiparty forces, and they are forming groups and recruiting ideologically green young people into their ranks. There were also a great many uncommitted people there. Only the cultural figures were not uncommitted, thus making up for their lack of creative potential.

Yu.A. Prokofyev spoke abut the areas of activity of members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which will now examine only fundamental questions relating to party policy at its monthly sittings.

Gidaspov Views 28th CPSU Congress, New Post

LD1807185490 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 18 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Rachkov]

[Text] Leningrad July 18 TASS—Leningrad Communist Party leader Boris Gidaspov called his election to the post of secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee as "recognition of the important role played by the Leningrad Party organisation in the life of the Communist Party and the country."

He held a news conference here today expressing his intention to work simultaneously as first secretary of the Leningrad Regional Party Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

He plans to get down to tackling problems throughout northwestern region in the new role of Central Committee secretary.

Gidaspov believes that the 28th congress achieved a positive result by preventing the party from splitting. "We regard withdrawal from the party as an objective process," he said.

"The Leningrad party organisation, with a membership of over 600,000, has already lost over 23,000. We also regard with understanding Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak's withdrawal from the party."

"His move will not affect our relations: This is not the time for political ambitions. On the contrary, we should pool our efforts to tackle Leningrad's burning economic and social problems," Gidaspov emphasised.

"It is too early to sum up the congress's final results. They will be clear after primary party orgnisations where congress delegates will speak their mind, express their opinion," noted Gidaspov.

Marshal Ogarkov Speech Defends Veterans' Rights

90UM0746A Moscow VETERAN in Russian No 29, 16-22 Jul 90 p 3

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union N. Ogarkov, chairman of the All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces, at the 28th CPSU Congress, date not given: "Party, Soviets, Sociopolitical Organizations and Movements"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

I am the same age as the October Revolution. I have had occasion to be a witness and participant in the formation and development of our Soviet state at all its stages. And today as a veteran of war, labor, the party, and the

Armed Forces I cannot help but note that never since the civil war have the ideas of the October Revolution and the ideas of Leninism, our social and state system, and its state organs been subjected to such attacks and such trials of its strength. And never has the authority of the party and the authority of the state fallen so low as it has in our day.

This, of course, cannot but trouble all of us. It is especially painful for those veterans who have gone through many difficult experiences together with the party and the country and have fallen on hard times. With rifle in hand and under the most difficult conditions they defended the country from enemies and over many years selflessly turned a formerly tired, utterly demolished country in bast shoes into a great Soviet power. The majority of us deeply understand the necessity of renewing our society and genuinely making our best contribution to perestroyka. And today, often finding themselves even at the poverty line, the majority of them maintain a firm, steady front and defend the CPSU Platform, straightforward and honest like fighters, not after the fashion of those who at the first difficulties and at the first change of direction of our party's ship jump from it in a panic and are now trying from the other shore to depict the veterans who have remained aboard the ship as a conservative force supposedly unable to understand the process taking place in the party and in society. I understand: It is not prestigious, but I have to say something about it today because the lack of objectivity and the sometimes even openly insulting tone with regard to veterans in various OGONEK's, NOVOSTI's, KOLESO's, VZGLYAD's, and SEKUNDA's inflict not just insult but a mortal wound. Many people consider this a betrayal by the older generation and a deliberate attempt to drive a wedge between the generations and to smash healthy forces and not allow them to consolidate themselves on a renewed CPSU Platform.

Moreover today, in my opinion, it is impossible not to see that there is in the country a purposeful, efficiently coordinated, and, I would say, coordinated campaign for the total pursuit and disparagement of everything for which our older generations fought. The October Revolution has already become something entirely different from the October Revolution, and it is as if the enthusiasm of the pre-war five-year plans never happened. Stalin's repressions and distortions are insistently associated with the essence of socialism, and some even defile the heroism of our people in the Great Patriotic War and its victory as though all of that was achieved only by penal companies and soldiers of the Chonkin type. In turn, intentionally exaggerated figures of our losses are deliberately published by someone, our sacred objects are profaned, and some pygmies have blasphemously gone after our national heroes, even the great Lenin himself. And all this is often done with sarcasm, spite, and mockery, and the ideological conviction of our people, especially of the youth, is deliberately being destroyed. One asks why this is being tolerated, because the perniciousness of this is apparent and empty souls are even worse than empty shelves. There is a continuous stream of resentment on that score, and not only from veterans. In recent years there has not been, perhaps, a single Central Committee plenum where this question has not been raised. But however strange it may be, the situation has not changed.

It is perfectly apparent that the leadership in the sphere of ideology on the part of the party's Central Committee has been dissatisfied in recent years. As a result, it is necessary in the first place to sharply raise the accountability of the party's Central Committee and the mass media with regard to the objectivity and reasoning of publications concerning the history of the party, the Army, and the country and concerning analyses of processes taking place in society. Second, it is necessary to unite the best forces of scholars of the social sciences to develop thoroughly a theory of democratic socialism so that the people can clearly and intelligibly see specifically what kind of society the party plans to build.

The second issue concerns the situation in the country. As we all know, it is becoming worse or, in any event, is not improving. Can we really endure what has been happening up to now in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it and in Sumgait, Tbilisi, Baku, Kirgiziya, and Fergana? Hundreds of innocent people have already died. But no one has carried out a thorough investigation of these events along with punishment of the criminals and establishment of their ties with the foreign world. Can we really be calm today while Lithuania has in essence committed a coup d'etat and is creating its own army? Or while in the Baltic regions they jeer at veterans and at our Soviet people, insolently glorify former members of the SS and the Politzei, terrorize and persecute communists, break off conscription into the Army, and insult Soviet servicemen? Or while in Moldavia they scoff at people's deputies just because they support the positions of socialism and they kill the youth Dmitriy Matyushin just because he is Russian? The staffs of two ethnic armies and tens of thousands of fighters already exist in Armenia. Similar detachments, including those made up of conscripts, are being created openly in Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Moldavia, and Georgia with their own commanders and staffs and with their own weapons.

We in the All-Union Council of Veterans have been receiving a stream of letters and inquiries as well as delegations of veterans in connection with this. And many of them ask the same alarmed questions: What is happening? What are we waiting for? Why does the president remain silent and the government do nothing? Why do they not disarm such illegal units? Why do they not take criminal action against those violators of Soviet laws and presidential edicts? However in answer we often hear that these are the temporary, natural costs of perestroyka, that everything is being reported to the leadership, that there is no need to panic, and that it is better to mind one's own business. One thinks of the following analogy in connection with all this. We were reminded of this analogy by one of our comrades speaking from Lithuania. In 1941 the country's leadership also received many reports about the possibility of sudden attack on the USSR by Nazi Germany. And the reaction to these reports was the same: There is no need to panic, no need to provoke things, mind your own business. And as far as we know, they ignored all the reports. But we are very familiar with the results of such actions at that time. Are not today's actions by the leadership reminiscent of the situation 50 years ago? I propose that the party cannot remain a sideline observer in the situation which has arisen. Order must be brought to the country. It is time for all those who should do so, beginning with the president, to define themselves clearly and finally begin to act.

In conclusion I want to affirm the thought expressed in a report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the effect that the CPSU retains a solid position among the veterans. The veterans of war, labor, and the Armed Forces are a genuinely important social support of the party. It is appropriate to remind you that one-sixth of the communists in the party are veterans. They can render the party great help in these difficult days if the party committees will enlist them into the sociopolitical life of the party more actively. The veterans also support perestroyka by their [sentence incomplete].

But the veterans still have many problems. Fulfilling their commission, and I stress that it is the commission of veterans that I am fulfilling, I earnestly request that delegates, especially party and soviet workers, and economic leaders use every opportunity to improve the standard of living of the older generation. Many, very many veterans are in the greatest need. And we have good examples of this. Today I would like to note from this tribunal the well-conceived actions of the leaderships of the Union republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Belorussia, and Azerbaijan and the Ministry of the Radio Industry which, in the year of the 45th anniversary of the Victory, have implemented important measures to improve the life of combat veterans and rear services workers of the war years. We hope that this initiative will find universal support. Because the way we care for the aged, especially the defenders of the homeland, influences the moral climate and the well-being of our whole society and most importantly of the rising generation and its moral health.

Delegates Polled on Party Leader Choices

90UN2357A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 28, 14-20 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by A. Degtyarev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Division: "Election Results and the Internal Voice of the Congress"]

[Text] **At the 28th CPSU Congress, M.S. Gorbachev was elected general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and V.A. Ivashko deputy general secretary.**

Stagnation has left us with not only empty store shelves but also an empty "reserve bench" in politics. When a little more than a year ago Deputy Obolenskiy nominated himself at the First USSR Congress of People's Deputies and about 600 people voted in favor of including him on the list of people running for the post of leader of our great country, I remember I felt a sense of bitterness about the depressing poverty of political talent.

Very little time has passed, but new names have appeared on the political horizon. Some people are delighted by the light of the new stars, and it hurts some people's eyes, but nobody would dare say that the situation has not changed.

The situation has changed in the party as well. The congress has elected a new general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and eight people were nominated for the post—something previously unheard of.

During one of the polls of congress delegates an open question (the respondent wrote his answers in empty columns) was asked: "Whom would you personally like to nominate as party leaders?" The questionnaire was filled out by 2,066 people, that is, 40 percent of the delegates, which makes it possible to make a confident judgment about the preferences of the corps of deputies.

For understandable reasons the results of the poll were not published before the elections. Today it is even more interesting to look at these materials—one can see refracted in the congress decisions its hidden opinion which existed in the body of delegates as some kind of thing in itself.

The names of a total of 101 delegates were given. Of these 74 were given on less than one percent of the questionnaires, including 39 names which were mentioned only once or twice (they are not included in the list).

Name	Number of Votes	Percentage
Gorbachev	1,124	54.4
Yakovlev	424	20.6
Bakatin	351	16.7
Ryzhkov	267	12.7
Gurenko	264	12.6
Lobov	182	8.6
Nazarbayev	172	8.2
Ligachev	171	8.1
Shevardnadze	146	6.9
Lukyanov	112	5.3
Yeltsin	91	4.3
Prokofyev	91	4.3
Kuptsov	74	3.5
Frolov	72	3.4
Polozkov	69	3.3
Shved	69	3.3

Name	Number of Votes	Percentage
Gidaspov	54	2.6
Dyakov	53	2.5
Mutalibov	49	2.3
Melnikov	38	1.8
Kryuchkov	36	1.7
Manayenkov	34	1.6
Ivashko	26	1.2
Girenko	25	1.2
Kumerbayev	23	1.1
Baklanov	23	1.1
Pugo	22	1.0.

The ratings of certain figures in the party who undoubtedly have authority could be higher were it not for the negative attitude of a considerable number of delegates toward combining posts. This position had the strongest effect on the ratings of the leaders of the republic Supreme Soviets and, of course, M.S. Gorbachev.

Nonetheless, he was the one who was far out in front on the rating list. It must be noted that on the whole the preferences of the delegates were adequately reflected in the process of the nomination of candidates for the post of general secretary. Five out of the eight who were nominated were among the first ten on the list, including the three "prize winners" (Gorbachev, Yakovlev, Bakatin). True, the only rival for Gorbachev in the end, T.G. Abalkin, was not predicted by the questionnaire. He was not mentioned on a single one of the questionnaires.

M.S. Gorbachev's overwhelming lead according to the results of the poll seems doubtful. In the voting he took 75.3 percent of the votes. There is no contradiction with the results of the poll here—it is well known in sociology that with an open questionnaire one must have an error coefficient in the direction of a higher figure. So the will of the congress was quite adequately reflected in the results of the voting.

Further on Recall of Ukrainian Deputies

90UN2340B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Sergey Tsikora: "The Passions Were Suppressed"]

[Text] Kiev—The decision of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet to recall deputies, no matter where they were, for work in the republic's parliament had its effect.

The regular plenary meeting held on Monday 9 July in Kiev was attended both by parliamentarians-delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and by deputies who were on official business trips.

Of course, not everyone left Moscow and the party congress. Delegates who were selected for working commissions remained in the capital. This fact and also, possibly, the not entirely successfully compiled appeal to the session of deputies remaining in Moscow (it was read out in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet) heated up the atmosphere at the morning meeting and caused a sharp debate. A line formed up at the microphone of deputies who wanted to express their opinion "on the subject of the day"—the interrelationship between the state authority and the party and the interests of the people in interparty affairs. It was proposed that the parliament express a lack of confidence to those who did not return for the session... Nonetheless, through the efforts of a number of deputies, the attention of the auditorium was switched to another aspect of the situation that arose.

"Who today is interested in the resignation of the head of the republic, who kept his word and honestly rejected combining the highest posts in the party and the state?" V. Grinev, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, asked the parliament. "In my opinion, it is those who are interested in weakening authority on the eve of difficult trials for the republic, which are associated with the miners' political strike. We are pushing 'into a corner' leaders who are able to keep their word before both the parliament and before the party, and, in the end, before their own conscience."

Whether these or other arguments produced an effect, however, not one of the "extreme" proposals was submitted to a vote.

The attention of the deputies was switched to the Declaration of the Independence of the Ukraine. It was decided to conclude discussion of it in the commissions of the Supreme Soviet today or tomorrow. Considering that the Declaration of Independence of the Ukraine has provisions about its own armed forces and banking system, the final ratification of this document will require considerable time, patience, and wisdom on the part of the parliamentarians.

Historian Views Right-Left Split at Congress

PM1807145090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 28, 22-29 Jul 90 p 3

[Article by Viktor Kuvaldin, D.Sc. (History): "The Moment of Truth"]

[Text] The summer of 1990 will become a part of our political history when many secrets became public. At this point not all key figures have come to the forefront, not all the cards have been revealed, but the general balance of forces has become more or less definite. For the first time in Soviet history elections and congresses give us objective material, with which to form ideas about the real ideological and political processes in society. One should, of course, be careful with judgements and assessments because democratization is not the same thing as democracy, and the situation in the Soviet Union is very fluid.

The most conspicuous thing is the rather uneven pattern of political processes around the country. The Baltics, out of embrace Europe, represent a glaring contrast to Asian traditionalism. The capital cities have veered left, while conservatism still reigns in the rural areas. The democratic sentiments of intellectuals are in conflict with certain backward segments of the population. The coming to the fore of such symbolic figures as Boris Yeltsin and Ivan Polozkov attests to society's polarization.

The natural question is; is a power struggle between the left-wing and the right-wing imminent? The prospect of a civil war seems unlikely, since the terrors of the last civil war still reverberate within the nation. It seems that the closer to the brink, the greater is the people's instinct of self-preservation. Moreover, the political climate in Europe at the moment would not be conducive to an open crackdown on dissidents.

More likely is the prospect of a cold civil war, with all devices being used with the exception of weapons. Once this "game without any rules" has been started, the chances of aborting the crisis would be lost, thereby accelerating the process of moral degradation. The country's international positions would weaken disastrously, and there would be any number of those who would wish to solve their own problems at our expense.

Forced with this danger, why waste time on calls for consoldiation? History has proven this impossible. What can and should be done is that we must establish a definite code of poltiical behaviour, the violation of which would be regarded as a heinous crime against society. Only close adherence to democratic norms can prevent us from having a head-on collision. When there is none, and cannot be any fundamental agreement, an agreement must be reached on civilized forms of resolution of contentious issues.

There are two fundamental issues to be resolved today: the removal of state control over public life, and the liberation of the individual from the suffocating chaperoning of collectivism.

It would be an unpardonable mistake to underestimate the power of the neoconservative movement. What we could see happening at the Russian party conference was not an isolated episode. This is only the tip of the iceberg. Having begun as opposition at the top of the progressive changes, neoconservatism is spreading its roots into the masses of people.

It is also looking for forms of political expression. At this point its gaze turns to the CPSU. The old mentality holds the Communist Party on a short leash and reduces the chances of a political manoeuvre. The new right-wingers are hoping to turn the party into an iron fist to bring down upon the still weak perestroika structures.

Democratic communists are at pains to put a limit to the party's shift to the right. Under certain conditions the transformation of the CPSU into a right-of-centre political force would not be catastrophic. Such is the mood of a considerable part of society, and this should have an adequate expression in the political process. As a party that recognizes the objective need for perestroika, a right-of-centre CPSU would make it possible to separate moderate conservatives from reactionaries. Moreover, in such a case, it would be an effective means to "bring in the reserves", so to speak. World experience suggests that it is agreement among conservatives, rather than pressure from radicals, that would be the real guarantee of irreversibility of perestroika...

The prospects of the CPSU becoming a right-of-centre party set new tasks before the country's leftists. Proceeding from the erroneous premise that time is on their side, they lack unity in a variety of ways. Many different kinds of parties and organizations are formed which often make little sense. Infinite discussions go on at small forums. One thing, without which success is impossible, is lacking: a broad-based political organization, or popular front capable of rallying perestroika supporters around the country. Its minimum programme would include: political democracy, a market economy, ideological pluralism, and a foreign policy geared to integration.

One of the functions of such an organization would be to cushion the constant right-wing pressure brought to bear on the Soviet President. Gorbachev has provided a chance for the leftists to gain in strength and to become an impressive political force. Today the leftists ought to give Gorbachev a chance to be Gorbachev.

Estonian Party Adopts Theses for Congress

90UN2316A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 30 Jun 90 p 2

[Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Theses for 28th CPSU Congress]

[Text] The course of events in the Soviet Union is exerting a considerable influence on the development of all mankind. We are faced with an alternative: either economic integration, disarmament, the creation of a common home of equal European states and the prevention of ecological catastrophe, or isolation, intensifying economic crisis, and civil wars with the daily danger of a global explosion. The decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress must proceed both from the priority of values common to all mankind and the interests of the communist parties.

The CPSU can no longer postpone the examination of matters of principle and rest content with half-baked solutions which do not provide for a radical renewal of the party itself. The CPSU must, finally, make this choice.

I. Crisis in the Soviet Union and the CPSU

1. The democratic propositions contained in the platform drawn up by the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Congress, in the "Democratic Platform," and in the Marxist Platform correspond to the understanding by

the majority of members of the Estonian Communist Party of the state in which the USSR and the CPSU find themselves. The crisis in society is a consequence of the general crisis of the administrative-bureaucratic system.

The crisis has been brought about by the absence in society of the free development and free competition of ideas and political forces, the simplistic understanding of the aims and paths of development, the dogmatic counterpoise of the planned switch to the market economy, and of public to private ownership, and disregard for the objective laws of society's development.

The crisis which has gripped society has been intensified appreciably also by the CPSU's incapacity for moving with due dynamism toward its radical renewal.

2. The future fate of the CPSU is connected also with the model of the economy of the state and the state arrangement chosen by society. In opting for a market economy and a multiplicity of forms of ownership society inevitably opts for a multiparty system also. The formation of a multiparty system is under way, and reality is converting the former monopoly party into a party employing methods of parliamentary activity. The CPSU will have to determine its policy course in a situation where it is no longer a party with a constitutionally guaranteed monopoly of power. The competition of communist deputies and representatives of other political forces has already emerged in the democratically elected organs of people's power.

The 28th CPSU Congress must display the political will and wisdom in order to choose: the security of society and the party's renunciation not in words but in deeds of the monopoly of power or, on the contrary, its preservation at any price and contrary to the aspirations of the majority of the people.

3. The republics' course toward sovereignty is placing the republic communist parties under new conditions also. The independent organization of communists of each republic must today and subsequently proceed from the interests of its republic. In this case the communists may count on the trust and support of a majority of the people.

A union (community) of sovereign states undoubtedly presupposes also the cooperation of independent communist parties, but precludes the current practice of their subordination to the center.

4. The 28th CPSU Congress must make a political evaluation of the party's entire previous activity, the well-foundedness of its programs, and the results of their fulfillment. The congress must choose its theoretical foundations of the communist movement and acknowledge Stalinism to be a crime against humanity. Ideas concerning socialism as a society based on a monopoly of state ownership and dictatorship implanted by the party and state upper stratum allegedly on behalf of the proletariat led to arbitrary action and lawlessness. The practice of the building of socialism in Russia and its largely forcible extension to neighboring territories and the assistance in the coming to power of and support for authoritarian regimes in other countries led to communist ideology and the Marxist theory of society being compromised and caused the crisis of the international communist and workers movement. The peoples paid dearly, with tens of millions of lives, for this experiment, among whose casualties were also an incalculable number of honest communists. For this reason the CPSU is duty bound to condemn the practice of the forcible and artificially accelerated building of such a new society.

II. Achievement of the Independence of the Union Republics and Their Communist Parties and Possibilities of Cooperation Under the New Conditions

1. The program adopted by the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress (March 1990) points out that the practicable way toward Estonia's independence is through negotiations, in the course of which the interests of all parties should be taken into consideration and the essential ties preserved and developed.

The Estonian Communist Party believes that the process of formation of the state independence of the present Union republics is not for the communists an end in itself, it merely contributes to the creation of new prerequisites for further development en route to a democratic and humane society of a socialist orientation. The basis, however, of the development of all peoples is cooperation on the principles of equality, equal rights, and mutual profitability. Cooperation is dictated by objective economic interests, the different specifics of the regions, and unequal provision with material resources, and also the exacerbation in the immediate future of global problems.

2. The Estonian Communist Party believes that cooperation between the peoples and republics which are at this time part of the Soviet Union may be based on the following new conclusions ensuing from actual practice:

1) the universal cooperation of the states and peoples and also a policy of an easing of tension will eliminate the diktat of the great powers. The Soviet Union should from the present unitary state become a community of sovereign equal states formed on the basis of truly voluntary principles.

The association of each of the republics, which have achieved independence, with a future community of states is decided by the permanent population of this republic without any outside pressure. Each state must be legislatively guaranteed the right of unimpeded secession from the community of states.

The sovereign rights of a state which are a part of the community are ensured by the preeminence of its Constitution and laws. The mutual relations of the states which are a part of the community are determined by treaties taking account of mutual interests;

2) the conversion of the Soviet Union into a community of states should proceed without social and political upheavals. The Union republics must become real subjects of international law. In the economy and policy a mechanism of cooperation with the use of direct and horizontal relations is created and a multiparty, parliamentary system of administration and also cooperation based on the market economy is formed;

3) safeguards which preclude interference in one another's affairs will be employed in relations between the states which are a part of the community. Each state has the right, in accordance with the prevailing understanding in society and by virtue of objective necessity, to independently develop its political and economic system. Joint decisions are adopted on the basis of consensus;

4) upon the conversion of the Soviet Union from a unitary state into a community of states the statehood of the present Union republics is achieved in accordance with recognized international rules of self-determination. Cooperation with states which have left the Soviet Union is developed by the states remaining therein on the basis of international law.

3. The new state arrangement of the Soviet Union will lead to a change in the CPSU.

The CPSU should from the present ruling party of a unitary state become a union of the communist parties of the states which are a part of the Soviet Union. The bases of their common activity are program propositions, a code of party life, and directive authorities for the coordination of joint action elected on a parity basis. Each communist party is independent here, has its own program, rules, and membership and has the right of organizational withdrawal from the union of communist parties, which does not signify a severance of ties between parties. In the future the CPSU could become an association of parties of a communist and socialist orientation of the states which are a part of the Soviet Union. [1]

The Estonian Communist Party believes that the 28th CPSU Congress' recognition of the above principles would create new prerequisites for the democratization of society. The alternative to this is a halt to the process of renewal and substitution for democratic principles of the old administrative and power politics, which in turn would create favorable soil for the emergence of neo-Stalinism or another form of dictatorship.

Upon implementation of the reforms of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, account should be taken of the differing historical experience, evaluations, and traditions, and the level of development of the regions of the country. Estonia's way toward its statehood does not claim to be a model for the other present republics of the Soviet Union since a Stalinist regime was, contrary to the people's wishes, established forcibly in the Baltic republics in 1940. The Estonian Communist Party expects of the 28th CPSU Congress a clear-cut political evaluation of the foreign policy of Stalinism in 1939-40.

4. The Estonian Communist Party sees as its allies all democratic movements which are seeking radical economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union and the CPSU. The Estonian Communist Party will formulate its decision concerning forms of cooperation with the Soviet Union republics' communist parties in renewal and the principles of relations with the CPSU with regard for the program documents of these parties and the decisions adopted at the 28th CPSU Congress.

Approved at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Sixth Plenum on 25 June 1990.

Footnotes:

[1] Part of the Estonian Communist Party Coalition Central Committee supports the following version of this paragraph: The basis of the CPSU's activity should be basic program propositions, a code of party life, and directive authorities for the formulation of joint decisions elected on a parity basis. Within this framework each communist party is independent and has its own program and prescriptive documents. The CPSU has single membership.

Estonian Delegates Draft Transition Goals

90UN2316B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 30 Jun 90 p 2

[Statement of Estonian delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress: "The Transition Period in Estonia"]

[Text] The republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet proclaims a transition period for restoration of the independent republic of Estonia.

The actual content of this period is interpreted differently by different political forces. The understanding of this problem is contradictory outside of Estonia also.

In this connection we deem it necessary to set forth our vision of the transition period in Estonia for the purpose of conveying it to all delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress.

We believe that the actual content of this period should be the consistent implementation of a number of the following political decisions:

1. Recognition by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Government of the actual occupation in 1940 of the republic of Estonia and its forcible annexation to the USSR.

2. Conclusion of mutually profitable agreements between the republic of Estonia and all other republics currently within the USSR in the sphere of the economy, policy, military matters, and other spheres, which will represent a basis for cooperation.

3. Enactment by the republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet of a provisional law on elections of the republic of Estonia State Duma.

4. Adoption by the republic of Estonia State Duma of the republic of Estonia Constitution and Citizenship Act.

5. Recognition of the state independence of the republic of Estonia by the other republics which are currently part of the USSR and the USSR Government, and international recognition of the republic of Estonia.

6. Solution of the question concerning the possibility of the republic of Estonia's entry into a future community of sovereign states of the Soviet Union.

[Signed]Delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress elected by the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress.

Political & Social

Reportage on Gorbachev's Visit to Ostankino

Meets Television, Radio Employees

[Report by commentator Igor Zorin]

LD1907132190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Now I will deviate slightly from the news roundup prepared by the editor to give you my own, so to speak, news about an event taking place at this very moment at the USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting]. USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has come here to Ostankino for a meeting with television and radio management and employees. I attended this meeting for only half an hour—I think it will continue for some time—but, unfortunately, my work here forced me to reluctantly leave the meeting in the middle of a very interesting discussion.

The discussion was opened by Comrade Menashev, chairman of Gosteleradio. Let me note that Comrade Primakov, member of the Presidential Council, also arrived for the meeting. Menashev said: We are glad that you, comrade president, have come here to see us. We are talkative people but modest and unpretentious. That is what he said: I am not quoting the chairman's remarks word for word. He said that one of the reasons for the meeting with the president is the decree of the USSR president on the democratization and development of television and radio in our country.

Mikhail Fedorovich spoke for about 15 minutes to open the meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and then Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev approached the microphone in the hall and said straightaway: I am willing to answer your questions until I have satisfied your needs. He said that by this meeting he is canceling a debt. He promised a long time ago to meet Gosteleradio employees and said: At least I have put aside my affairs and come here to see you at Ostankino. I have come with the intention of finding understanding among intellectuals working in the mass media, in particular, at Gosteleradio and television.

It is, of course, nice that one of the president's first phrases was: I always begin the morning with Mayak switched on and, unfortunately, I don't often manage to see the "Vreyma" program.

So, the meeting will be continued and I assume we will be reporting on it in later news bulletins.

Discusses Media's Role

LD1907161290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1425 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] [Mayak "Panorama" Announcer] It is 1825 Moscow time. I thank Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and our country's president, who has come to meet the management and staff of Gosteleradio. The meeting began at 1515, and you have just come into our No. 19 Studio for Mayak "Panorama," Mikhail Sergeyevich. Well, I have the rights of a long-standing acquaintance. I recall that I interviewed you in Kiev a year ago, when the plenum was held at which Comrade Ivashko, first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, was elected. You gave me an interview then. I asked you if that was a new way of selecting party cadres, and you said "yes" then. Well, how are we to describe the fact that you, a busy man, so to speak, have come to us—there are several tens of thousands working here? What aim were you pursuing through this meeting, Mikhail Sergeyevich?

[Gorbachev] You know, I think that I might have to repeat myself: You have heard what I said right at the start. In general, when we felt that we needed to change life and wanted to ennoble and humanize our society, it seemed that it would all be simple for people to feel calm and well in this country, especially as this country and the peoples living here have left a deep imprint in history and have done much for the general progress of civilization. I do not want to set out the landmarks in our history now. All the same, we came to the position that life had to be changed for the better, so people might be satisfied and confident and feel really free and happy. Yes, the idea seemed to be simple and clear, with nothing special about it. But that was where all the complexity lay too: to enable all these simple things and values to enter our life, because we had to change and renew everything thoroughly.

Not everything began so simply here. Both our intelligentsia and the mass media, radio and television, everybody who is working here, has done much to involve society in reflecting and discussing how we were living, how we are living now, and how we envisage our future life. That is where I began our meeting today, as you recall. But today the reason is that we have lived through five years, we have convered a great distance, by historical yardsticks, when we try to evaluate what has happened in these years regarding some sort of specific points—and this must not be cast aside, for the specific lives of people today, how they feel, must not be neglected; we must not ignore today for the sake of a bright future, as used to be the case in the past. Nevertheless, we can see how the changes are accompanied by many complicated things, complexities, and difficulties, quite apart from the fact that we have made mistakes.

But all the same, we have come to the stage of fundamental, deep changes. We now need a very deep degree of understanding in society, and I have come again, I am appealing to our comrades who work in the mass media, primarily in radio and television, to do everything to ensure that the president can count on cooperation and understanding in these months—and I am already counting in months the time when the most responsible and profound changes will take place. We must not change our course; we must continue it. I will put it more strongly than that: We must act more radically.

[Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich, most of the Mayak "Panorama" news and music staff, and in general of the Mayak news service's main editorial office, support your policy, support you personally. What is your attitude to Mayak?

[Gorbachev] That is precisely the program which I listen to most of all, and I can say something. You might not even like it.

[Announcer] Go ahead. Never mind.

[Gorbachev] First, I am sure that it is one of the popular programs, the program that people switch on at any time of the day. I have to say, in principle—if one is to take an overall view, and I think this will coincide with our people's opinion—that this program has earned great prestige. But this means it is also always a responsibility. If millions listen to this program, the person who is sitting in your seat or next to you—today I have come here to be with you—should feel a tremendous sense of responsibility, that beyond these walls there are millions of people.

On this day, at this meeting, especially as it is the first one for the moment, I do not wish to talk about specific things, but I would like that feeling of responsibility to be present, particularly now. I wish you and your colleagues on the Mayak success.

[Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I once happened to ask you about this, but it was not recorded on the air. Could we not get such a practice going here—the American President meets radio listeners once a month, I think. You are a super-busy person, but could you not have once a month, let us say, a one or two hour-long live phone-in conversation with people?

[Gorbachev] I think that we have come to that. Both television viewers and radio listeners have wishes regarding this, in fact. Therefore, probably we shall start operating a schedule like that in the autumn. Moreover, I think that there where we have housed the Presidential Council now, we are still housing it—it still has to be fitted out.

[Announcer] In the Kremlin?

[Gorbachev] In the Kremlin, and it still has to master its functions, naturally first and foremost its functions; it will moreover be possible to link up directly and enter into a dialogue with you.

[Announcer] You know how good that would be, to receive a dressing-down from the country's president directly on the air.

[Gorbachev] I think that for reprimands, we shall not leave the auditorium where the session is being held and do it in the presence of the committees' chairmen. But in order to respond to the things that are worrying people, troubling them, they want to receive a reply first-hand to one question or another. I think we are preparing ourselves for that.

[Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we shall end our conversation, since they are indicating to us that it is time to round things off. How would you sum up today's meeting with the bosses and staff of the State Television and Radio Broadcasting Committee?

[Gorbachev] I am sure that we shall have an understanding tomorrow, and even more understanding the day after tomorrow....

[Announcer] You said...

[Gorbachev] ...That we are all participants in a great cause. I think that this understanding is the factor that will perhaps play a decisive role in our momentous time.

[Announcer] I thank USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev for his participation in the live Mayak panorama. Excuse me, you were not offended that I invited you to take part in such a journalistic manner?

[Gorbachev] No, I am even pleased. In general, that is my style.

[Announcer] Thank you very much. The president is leaving the radio studio, and the radio's work is continuing, because even nine seconds of silence is a technical fault and I do not wish to deprive our technical staff of their bonus. Thank you very much.

'Political Problems' Discussed

LD1907195690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Today USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the Ostankino television and radio complex where a meeting took place between him and the

USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting [Gosteleradio] collective. Vladimir Koroblev, our commentator, was present at this meeting and I now hand over to him. Please.

[Koroblev] I would like to note straight away that this meeting lasted almost three hours, and there was a rather long conversation about the most vital problems of the further development of our television and radio broadcasting. It is very pleasing for me to note that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev began his address by saying that his working day begins by listening to the Mayak radio program.

The main part of the conversation between the journalists and the president concerned both creative and technical questions of television and radio broadcasting's further development and also the creation of a Russian Soviet Federated Soviet Republic Gosteleradio. The television and radio workers asked Mikhail Sergeyevich many questions. But addressing the Gosteleradio journalists, he said in part:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] I do not think that we could have reached the present stage of the development of the process of transformations in our society without the press' vast contribution. This has become something that I say quite reguarly, and I repeat it once again. But now there is the opportunity at this meeting to say simply, in a human way, that the first people who responded, who caught the essence and came half-way to meet, were the intelligentsia and that part of the intellgentsia which works in the press.

Now, I must say, and I hope that generally speaking, we have the understanding that what is more necessary than ever before to the country's leadership is the consolidation of our intelligentsia, the workers and peasants, and we are now starting to talk about that. And I say that agreement simply will take place or will not take place. That is how the question stands over agreement. Of course, it is a question of the basis on which agreeement is reached, not just agreement itself.

And this understanding is essential because, look, we must in the very near future replace one form of economic management with another, one economic model with another, in all the multiplicity of things that make up this sphere—forms of property, forms of economic management, and the position of people, and so on and so forth. I am not going to list everything here, they are just banal things. But in general, this is the transformation's whole foundation.

The federation and the whole country are undergoing all of this. We are in need of very clear direction indicators at present, very clear ones. I think that the fact that we must go forward, continue the path and I would say now that we must add radicalism to the center, that is absolutely clear to me, and you have probably felt this.

And with all the complications of the congress' composition when there were wings consisting of 1,000 people each, and about 2,000 or 2,500 were looking to see what would happen and, therefore, at times there were strange situations at the congress; nonetheless, when the question was posed on the key questions point blank, as it were, people abandoned their intermediate interests and came up to the level of understanding the country's fate.

I think that in principle we achieved documents which give the party the chance of moving along the path of renewal; and of integrating itself as a living force, a vital force, a national force, into the whole political process at the level of the development of ideas and of the policy and practice of perestroyka. Well this is, so to say, the task, but from task to implementation and to results is a vast distance. Therefore, I would ask you very seriously to promote the advancement of this whole process of transformations. We have entered the most responsible phase of transformations.

But I would ask you to think over what I have said—that some people in their broadcasts are proposing a change of course—and do not take this as anything other than a request to think it over and weigh it. I assure you that this has appeared among you. That is the first thing that I wanted to say to you. The second thing is, well, whether you like it or not, people are hurt. We, you and I, discuss and try to solve political problems, consider and advance the restructuring process and democracy, and adopt new laws; and you are taking part in all of it. People, workers and peasants have got the feeling, they are not entirely satisfied with their present position. I think it is the party's fault. I have already spoken about it. The party is guilty before the working class, as it was the party that happened to be not up to the mark, and it has not done everything to intergrate the best forces of the working class and the peasants into all these processes. Well, you meet them when you go out and invite them here, you see what great numbers of clever and gifted people there are. One can sometimes envy just a phrase, not only an idea. What an abundance of interesting ideas they come up with! I wonder whether it has happened that we all have done too much talking—the president is talking and issuing instructions, you are talking and issuing instructions, we all are issuing instructions. We know what is good for everyone. This is the thing that is very popular among you now, comrades. The first thing I would like to ask you about is not to push for a change of policy, as this is the policy that has been worked out for today and we have reached the stage of implementing it, and it deserves to be supported. Second, let us all pay attention now and get this real participant [as heard] involved through the political process, through the work of the party and through the media as well. Do not offend. We are humiliating our people by constantly lecturing them. [end recording]

[Koroblev] After the meeting was over, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was shown around USSR Gosteleradio equipment rooms and studios. He also visited radio Studio 19, from where we are broadcasting this program now. It was here that Mikhail Sergeyevich took part in Mayak's daytime information panorama. My colleague commentator Igor Zorin asked the USSR president questions. I want to finish my account of today's meeting between USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the USSR Gosteleradio collective.

Urges No Change in Policy

LD1907220590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the USSR, visited us here in Ostankino at Central Television and All-Union Radio.

This is the first time there has been such a visit here by the president of the USSR and the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. However, to all appearances, such visits will become a regular event.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Well, on the whole, I consider, dear friends, that by my visit to you I am paying off one of my long-standing debts, on which great interest can already be counted. And, of course, there is no need to hide here that I made time in my work, so to speak, as I felt it necessary to meet without putting it off any longer.

Now, I must say and I hope that generally speaking we have the understanding that what is more necessary than ever before to the country's leadership is the consolidation of our intelligentsia, the workers and peasants, and we are now starting to talk about that. And I say that agreement simply will take place or will not take place. That is how the question stands over agreement.

Well, you know, my opinion is, it seems to me, that our press is still looking for something further than those guidelines which have been formed over the past... recently, for society, on the part of the leadership of the country. [sentence as heard]

I think that the people will not accept a change of course. I would implore you to assist, well, the advancement of that whole process of transformation. We have entered the most crucial phase of transformation.

And well, are there not enough such people who are waging a struggle for these new things, and (?it does not come).

There are those who kill, there are (?those who weave intrigues), there are those who reject, who overthrow. And well, that creative person, that man, is absent.

Television cannot be gloomy. Nobody has need of such television. (?I want you) to understand that.

I think that our television has a great many achievements. It has changed. It has travelled a great path, also, over these years. And, nevertheless, there are more gains than losses.

But, comrades, there are losses.

So, the first thing I would like to ask you about is not to push for a change of policy, as this is the policy that has been worked out for today and we have reached the stage of implementing it, and it deserves to be supported. Second, let us all pay attention now and get this real participant involved through the political process, through the work of the party, and through the media as well. Do not offend. We are humiliating our people by constantly lecturing them.

[Unidentified voice] We should not impose our views.

[Gorbachev] We should not impose. I assure you that all you have to do is work on yourselves a bit, and you will get enormous human and intellectual satisfaction. So this word "democratic" describes what our central TV and radio should be like. That's what it should be. [end recording]

[Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting lasted two and a half hours. The most diverse questions were asked, to which clear and concrete answers were received.

Yevgenniy Maksimovich Primakov, member of the Presidential Council, took part along with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in the conversation with the leadership of the Gosteleradio, presenters and journalists.

Then, the president of the USSR visited ithe equipment studios of the television center. And well, that is the chair of the announcer of the "Vremya" program.

The president of the USSR saw for himself the conditions in which journalists and technical staff have to work.

Now, he is a guest of the main information editorial board. It is from this studio that the "Vremya" program is usually broadcast.

This is the technical equipment room. Mikhail Sergeyevich was acquainted with how the "Vremya" program and other information bulletins are broadcast, and was told of their troubles and problems related to equipment.

And well, in this room, editors, producers and journalists prepare information program bulletins.

Then, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the main information editorial office of the All-Union Radio and took part in a direct broadcast on the Mayak "Panorama."

[Begin recording] [Mayak announcer] How would you sum up today's meeting with the bosses and staff of the State Television and Radio Braodcasting Committee?

[Gorbachev] I am sure that we shall have an understanding tomorrow, and even more understanding the day after tomorrow...

[Mayak announcer] You said..

[Gorbachev] ...that we are all participants in a great cause. I think that this understanding is the factor that will perhaps play a decisive role in our momentous time.

[Mayak announcer] I thank USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev for his participation in the live Mayak "Panorama." Excuse me, but you were not offended that I invited you to take part in such a journalistic manner?

[Gorbachev] No, I am even pleased. In general, that's my style.

[Mayak announcer] Thank you very much. The president is leaving the radio studio, and the work of the radio is continuing. [end recording] [video shows various clips of Gorbachev's visit to Ostankino.]

Meets People Outside Studios

LD1907223290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Video report by A. Krutov on Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's walking tour outside the Ostankino studios of All-Union Radio and Central Television on 19 July; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the street Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was, as usual, immediately surrounded by people, and there was a lively conversation not just with radio and television staff.

[Begin video recording] [Gorbachev talking to crowd] So you think they should be given a dressing-down, do you?

[Voices] No!

[Gorbachev] No, and then this never works with creative people, nor even with ordinary people. I will always say this. People say: Mikhail Sergeyevich, let them have it, let them have it, let them have it! [Gorbachev clenches his fist] But let them have what? For 73 years we broke people, we pushed them and knocked them into shape, and so on. Just a moment [speaking to a man who interrupts]. Are we to continue in the same way?

When there is communication and dialogue, it is like us breathing oxygen: Everything is as it should be. Now everyone wants to have his say. Everyone wants to get on the screen to let people know what is what! And now there is also the top management who want to excel, too. If people have something to say, let them speak out.

But in my opinion people have had their say, and a situation is under way, so to speak, when we are already thinking. This is after all a good thing, and I feel—and it was confirmed by the comrades here during our meeting—that people are already showing a wish, you know, to say: Yes to the policy; yes, it is necessary; it must not be abandoned; it must be waged to the end; one must now grow tired of this; and it is necessary to show what is in the way and who is in the way.

However, people are already wanting things to be normal, for their screens and radios also to carry music, and they want to live. That is to say, people want to live each day. What, are we once again to live only for the sake of a remote bright future? It is necessary to live for the present too in programs, in work, and in everything—so people can relax. That is to say, people are already being drawn toward normality in life. However this is not passivity, it is not passivity. Society has already embarked on its course and will change.

The conversation was about the fact that we are now faced with very profound changes, namely, the market, the federation, all the rest, and the forms of ownership, the forms of economic management, the soviets, and other things—the whole political system—are changing. Therefore, just as when we were getting under way there was very strong support from the mass media and the intelligentsia for the policy of perestroyka, understanding is needed now at the decisive stage.

Goodbye, comrades. [end recording]

Gurenko Gorbachev's Shortfall of 'Inconsistency'

LD1907162790 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Sayko]

[Text] Kiev July 19 TASS—"On the whole, I am pleased with the results of the 28th Communist Party Congress," said 54-year old Stanislav Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee elected Politburo member for the first time.

In an interview with TASS he said that during the congress the party had demonstrated its viability and readiness to renew itself.

According to Gurenko, the party's opponents and political adversaries erred in forecasting on the eve of the congress a split in the party.

From the viewpoint of the Ukrainian Communist chief, the results of the congress were important to the development of republican communist parties and the extension of their independence.

For instance, the three-million-strong Communist Party of the Ukraine is now entitled to work out its policy statements on its own, to express more explicitly the interests of the 52 million-strong Ukrainian nation, to determine its own structures and to dispose of its monetary resources.

Ukrainian communists regarded the preservation of the party unity as their primary task at the 28th CPSU Congress. Delegates from Ukrainian Party organisations voiced this desire in most of their speeches and demonstrated it clearly by their response to events during the congress, as well as by their attitude towards issues of principal importance in party life and activity, Gurenko said.

Commenting on his own speech at the congress, in which he said he was critical of Mikhail Gorbachev's activity as the party's general secretary, Gurenko said: "To my mind, Gorbachev should have shown stronger determination and consistency in the implementation of plans to restructure the party and society as a whole.

"His chief shortfall was inconsistency in the implementation of transformations he himself has proposed. This may have resulted from lack of resolution when renewing his immediate team."

Among the party's prime tasks after the congress, Gurenko singled out the renewal and democratization of the party's inner life and the strengthening of the authority and influence of its grass-roots organisations.

Much has yet to be done in restructuring the party's ideological work, involving the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretaries and Politburo members.

"The main thing is to get rid of the bad habit of depending ideologically on bosses," Gurenko said. Unless each and every party member becomes fully aware of his own responsibility for the fate of the party, nothing will change for the better.

One of the crucial tasks is to overcome the sense of uncertainty some party members are prone to and to end attempts to dissolve party structures, which are unfortunately not infrequent in some party organisations.

"Communist organisation and unity of action are needed above all. Each communist should be involved in shaping party policy. All opinions and proposals should be carefully considered and taken into consideration.

"We will not accomplish anything unless we feel the comrade's shoulder next to ours, unless we feel the party's own strength and support. Organisation and conscious discipline are necessary for this."

Democratic Platform Leader Challenges Dismissal

LD2007105890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0948 GMT 20 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov]

Moscow, 20 Jul (TASS)—Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, one of the "Democratic Platform," has brought charges against the Buro of Moscow city CPSU Committee, demanding a review of the "lawfulness of the wording" of the decision by the Buro releasing him from his duties as rector of the Moscow Higher Party School [MHPS] as "being unsuited to the post which he holds."

The reason for the decision was the address by Shostakovskiy at the 28th CPSU Congress, when he read a statement by a group of people's deputies about breaking with the conservative group of delegates, about a split in the CPSU, and an intention to form "an independent democratic parliamentary party" from a section of it. He has brought an action at Frunzenskiy rayon court in the capital, pleading the defense of his "professional honor and human dignity."

A group of teachers and scientific workers at this educational institution have sent a statement to Yuriy Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee in which they say that the wording is unlawful as regards "unsuitability for the post." The fact that the decision by the leadership of the Moscow organization of the CPSU was made without reference to the opinion of the primary party organization, which put Shostakovskiy forward as a delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress, and to the scientific council which unanimously elected him rector of the MHPS, also gave rise to protest from the authors of the statement. They demand that the validity of the decision by the Buro of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU should be suspended until the Shostakovskiy issue is examined in the MHPS party organization and at the scientific council.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Functions Viewed

90UN2240A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jun 90 Second Edtion p 1

[Interview with N.D. Pivovarov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on the Work of the Soviets and the Development of Management and Self-Government, by S. Karkhanin; place and date not given: "The Professionalism Factor"]

[Text] [Karkhanin] Nikolay Dmitriyevich, the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which ended in the middle of June, is overshadowed to a certain extent by other important socio-political events. But I would like to return to some of its features, because the form of the parliament is a decisive factor for the quality of present and future reforms. In addition, 33 new laws were passed...

[Pivovarov] Indeed, a collective of deputies has been formed and, I would say, the impact of the parliament is beginning to be felt. The evidence of a growing professionalism is not even in the record number of laws that were considered, but in the changing character of the discussions. There were more justifications and specific arguments.

From among those adopted, I can identify the laws on property, on land, on enterprises, and on local self-government. I mention the last not because our deputy committee is its collective author. It is important that this document is almost the first step in the realization of the appeal "All power to the Soviets!" I am convinced that the laws of the Union republics will be able to fill it with specific content. As for the Law on Pensions, it takes into account and gives answers to many questions that trouble the voters.

We have begun to work more effectively, and one of the reasons is that deputy speeches were well thought out.

Each is exposed to the expert evaluation of colleagues. Moreover, a majority of the questions are discussed preliminarily in committees and commissions. In our committee we hold debates beforehand on all projects that will be submitted at the session. And even those projects which are prepared in the committees have become better. By the way, judging from our mail, the voters now evaluate the work of a deputy not by the number of times he appears at the microphone, but by the substance of submitted proposals.

When the Law on Pensions was being prepared, I received a lot of letters from voters with supplements for the document concerning miners and kolkhozniks [collective farm workers]. More and more such proposals are arriving on other laws as well. This can be interpreted as a sign of growing trust in the deputies.

A lot of excitement was caused by the problem of a quorum, although it is not the only one that has to be decided, since we are already following the path of a professional parliament. It was formed on the basis of representation, but life demands that this principle be reviewed. A year of work of the Supreme Soviet has shown: For fruitful deputy activities, a person must be free of production duties. Incidentally, the "quorum sickness" proved to be contagious, and it spread to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congress of People's Deputies and to the Moscow and Leningrad Soviets... It is well-known that it also exists abroad. What is to be done? Apparently, revise the organizational activity of the parliament. For the present, we are working as at a usual meeting: an agenda, a discussion, and voting. So, an extremely exact schedule is necessary, and the voters should also know how one or another deputy participated in the voting.

[Karkhanin] As is well-known, the staff of the Supreme Soviet Presidium was changed recently, and you as the chairman of the deputy committee are also part of it. The press rarely writes about the Presidium; please go into more detail about it.

[Pivovarov] At the beginning of the session, in connection with the fact that a Soviet of the Federation was established, the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics transferred there from our Presidium, and the Presidium was formed on a new basis. Besides the chairmen of the deputy committees and commissions, representatives of Union republics and some autonomous republics became a part of its staff. "Reconstruction" rarely occurs painlessly, and that is what happened with us. However, toward the end of the session, it was possible to accelerate the pace. Moreover, the additional representatives of different social categories now assist in seeing how one or another problem can be looked at from various points of view.

The Presidium did a lot in the last month and a half. On its initiative, a draft was prepared of a prospectus of legislative activity of the Supreme Soviet for the next two years. More than 100 laws are planned for three of the forthcoming sessions. The workload will be considerable, and, apparently, it makes sense for the Presidium to lighten the work of the Supreme Soviet, and to take over part of this work itself. I have in mind, mainly, the initial phase of discussions of the documents.

[Karkhanin] There is frequent mention of "law creation euphoria," and, really, passing a law is only half the work. Obviously, there is something to think about here also in connection with the law on general principles of local self-government in whose preparation your committee took the lead?

[Pivovarov] The local Soviets had just been formed, but at the end of May and the beginning of June requests for consultations in connection with the new law came to our committee in large numbers. In many ways its future fate depends on the position of the Union republics. In addition, a number of military and technical problems and the budget will not be able to be resolved until 1991. We visited many regions of the country, studying how our law was received there. The appraisals are positive, but it was apparent that here and there familiarity with it was quite superficial.

We took the law under our control in the committee and heard information from the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], and the Ministries of Justice and Finance about how the document was being put into effect. I will say outright, it did not satisfy us, although a lot has been done. We are alarmed by the sluggishness. After the parliamentary vacation, we will return to this problem. We intend to monitor it until the law is working in full force.

We are frequently asked about our contacts with the Moscow and Leningrad Soviets, where the leadership has changed. Indeed, there are such contacts, especially with the Moscow Soviet—we worked together with it on the draft law on local self-government. Ties were arranged through Muscovite deputies who are on our committee. I think that the work of these soviets can become the basis for our law to be able to function robustly. Of course, they are repeating our mistakes in some things, but this is not a great problem: They will learn. The main thing is that there be more specificity, so that people will sense a return from their activity through changes in the social sphere.

The Moscow Soviet gave assurances that roads in the capital would be improved soon. God willing, as the saying goes, this is already a specific thing. Unfortunately, during past years we have been redistributing considerably more frequently than we have been creating. We would like people to believe: Life will become better precisely owing to creation. There is nothing more to take away and to redistribute.

[Karkhanin] The heated social temperature has led to the fact that a number of strike committees are already demanding the resignation of the Union parliament and government. How would you comment on this?

[Pivovarov] I think that if the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet were already working there would not be any such ultimatums. And we must, probably, display less heat concerning future laws and monitor laws adopted recently more carefully. In the autumn, the session will hear how the law on local self-government is being implemented. This practice, probably, should become the rule.

As for the reproaches against the government, in my opinion, the government should also increase monitoring of its own decisions. Authority cannot be achieved without this. The question about the resignation of the Council of Ministers, it seems to me, cannot be put without first carefully studying public opinion. But in any case, preparation of the economic reform program is the last chance for the government. If it is not able to cope, there will be distrust. The latest events should be a lesson for it. There are quite a few scientifically based proposals, and not to take note of them would be wrong.

It was possible to consider several alternative concepts, but the main thing is not to allow the concept of a "market" to be replaced by an increase in prices, which itself caused a panic and a new outbreak of agitated demand. So that I would admit that the criticism of the government is in many ways objective.

[Karkhanin] Recently, the Interregional Group of Deputies, which caused so much debate, actually has been inconspicuous. In your opinion, why did this happen?

[Pivovarov] In principle, I view the existence of the Interregional Group of Deputies with interest. There is a saying: "The pike lives in the lake to keep all the fish awake." And, really, this group to a certain degree provided the impetus in the work of the Supreme Soviet. Especially in the first stage, when a powerful intellectual potential appeared in the Interregional Group of Deputies. It conducted intensive organizational activity, and many were attracted to the group.

But time passed, and many activists were being given specific sectors of work. But the main thing is that the problems which the Interregional Group of Deputies intended to work on were assumed by deputy commissions and committees. Meanwhile, its methods remained the same: discussion and criticism. It is not surprising that this no longer adds to authority.

[Karkhanin] Is the rotation of Supreme Soviet members, which was the subject of lively discussions, getting closer. How is the preparation for it going?

[Pivovarov] We have to renew not more than 54 seats in each of the chambers annually. The first rotation will occur in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in autumn. Who will replace whom—this question will be decided taking into account the opinions of territorial deputations and national-territorial deputations. Committee and commission staffs will be renewed; moreover, taking their wishes into account. Some of them were already renewed at the end of this session: Some of the deputies moved to another committee, and others figured that they did not have enough time to work on a committee. It is important that changes occurred with general agreement, and there were no conflicts. Thus, the preparation for rotation is being conducted with an orientation toward a professional Supreme Soviet.

[Karkhanin] There were a lot of arguments about how the USSR people's deputies were fulfilling the instructions of their own constituents, and whether this was damaging to the creation of laws. A parliamentarian really should not become a "pusher," but he is given a mandate taking into account the promises made during the election campaign...

[Pivovarov] I think that the instructions that were given must be fulfilled. The deputy's prestige is closely associated with this. Of course, it is said that instructions that relate to local problems should now be taken up by deputies at lower levels. That is so. But the people have a right to address any problem to a USSR people's deputy. It is another matter that he must resolve problems of local significance in contact with local organs and through them.

In fulfilling instructions, our deputies do a lot. There are also pertinent sections in the laws on the status of a USSR people's deputy in the USSR. Although with time, I think, when levels of jurisdiction are defined, there will be more clarity. For example, housing in our country is shared out by everyone—from the local Soviet to the Supreme Soviet. Then, it is a matter of how this should be handled only at the city and rayon level. There will be more responsibility.

[Karkhanin] When the parliamentary vacation ends, what is the first thing that the Supreme Soviet should get involved in?

[Pivovarov] I think, a search for ways to get out of the crisis in the economy. There are 15-17 draft laws on economic reform, the plan, and the budget for next year. And the documents have already been discussed in the first reading: concerning leaves and the Soviet militia. There is already a "portfolio" of draft laws that have to be looked into in the next two years, and, moreover, the list is not sent down "from above," but it is prepared in commissions and in committees. And before our committee is the task of preparing changes to the USSR Constitution in connection with the Law on General Principles of Local Self-Government, the draft laws on the USSR Council of Ministers, about organs of state administration in the USSR, and about state service in the USSR.

[Karkhanin] One of the main directions in the creation of laws will be the preparation of a new treaty of Union. As is well-known, the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies passed a number of basic documents which assert that the political situation is extremely dynamic and fluid. This has to be taken into account when developing normative acts concerning the mutual relations of the center and the republics, and, of course, the

Soviets at various levels also. The declaration of RSFSR sovereignty, and the decree on the demarcation of administrative functions by organizations on RSFSR territory, it seems to me, compel a new look at the problem of a treaty of Union...

[Pivovarov] I suppose that the documents adopted in the Russian Federation were dictated by a striving to suffuse the problem of the independence of the republics with new content, especially in the social sphere. It seems to me that these documents are oriented in the same direction as that of the USSR Law on the Demarcation of Powers between the Union and the Republics, and the Law on General Principles of Local Self-Government. Most likely, not all of the republic documents will prove acceptable for the future treaty of Union, for it must respond to the interests of all of the republics. However, the decisions taken in the RSFSR, first, can become a concrete basis for the preparation of the treaty of Union, and, second, apparently, they will give an added impetus to the work that is being conducted in the Soviet Federation.

Censorship Body Moves to 'Consultations'

PM2007081190 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Jul 90 p 4

[Interview with N.P. Zorin, deputy chairman of Glavlit, by A. Balkovskiy; place and date of interview not given; published under the "Mini Interview" rubric: "Goodbye, Censorship!"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] On 1 August, the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Media" will go into force. One of its provisions says: "Censorship of the mass media is forbidden." What will happen to the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press [Glavlit]? This is what N.P. Zorin, first deputy chief of the administration said:

"Glavlit will not disappear, but its functions will change radically. As of 1 August, we will no longer permit or forbid publishers to publish things. Henceforth, according to the wishes of publishers, we will conclude agreements for consultations on questions of not divulging state and other secrets protected by law. The publisher has the right not to cooperate with us. In that case, the publication of confidential information will be entirely his responsibility.

[Balkovskiy] So only you have the full information about what is a secret and what is not?

[Zorin] At the moment, yes. But Glavlit does not claim a monopoly. We are now preparing a number of methodical recommendations, which we will soon pass to the publishers.

[Balkovskiy] Will the administration be involved in the activity that brought it notoriety in the years of stagnation—political supervision of the press and literature?

[Zorin] Absolutely not. We are not involved in politics, and I hope we never will be again...

Foreign Ministry on Consular Service Changes

LD1907192590 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Budrys, Igor Peskov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Work to facilitate entry to and exit from the Soviet Union is closely connected with the democratisation of the country, Soviet Foreign Ministry Consular Department First Deputy Head Igor Khalevinskiy told a briefing here today.

Speaking about changes in the Sovet Consular Service's activities, he noted that its main task is to "ensure rapid and civilised communication between people". In this respect, the procedure to receive permission to enter or exit the Soviet Union is being facilitated. Negotiations are being conducted with several countries to establish relations without visas, he said.

Laws on entry and exit, Soviet citizenship and regulations on the passport for foreign travels are being worked out. The laws will radically change the rules governing Soviet citizens' exits from the country, Khalevinskiy said.

The main problem is the lack of hard currency for exchange, but it can be resolved together with general economic problems, including the convertibility of the ruble, he said.

Khalevinskiy said 198 consular departments are now functioning abroad, and the number is growing. The honorary consul status has been restored. The first Soviet honorary consul works in Santa Cruz, Bolivia.

He said the number of Soviet citizens who visited other countries exceeded the number of foreigners who visited the Soviet Union for the first time ever, eight million and 7.75 million respectively.

Khalevinskiy said the Consular Department is aware of and worried about the situation at control posts on the Soviet-Polish border, where many crowds of people wait to pass the border and customs routine. In order to resolve the problem, 40 more customs servicemen were sent there and control posts have been equipped with the most up-to-date control equipment.

Officials Absent as Farm Workers Plan Strike

PM1907100590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Rumble of July Storms"]

[Text] In the rural rayons of Kostroma Oblast collective and state farm leaders have embarked on some atypical activity. Agrarian workers' strike committees are being formed under their leadership there.

The first to present a package of demands to the national and republic governments and the oblast and rayon soviet executive committees were representatives of the labor collectives in Buyskiy Rayon. Their simple appeals are self-explanatory: all questions to do with sponsorship help in the preparation of feed and harvesting work must be settled without delay, the existing comprehensive reception centers for the population's consumer services must also be opened in the countryside, and a normal telephone and radio link with the countryside must be provided immediately.

In addition to their demands, agrarian workers are issuing ultimatums. They set out a timetable for ending milk and meat deliveries, to enable all produce to be sold in the villages. Representatives of rural rayons have joined forces and created an oblast strike committee.

A legitimate question to ask is this: What is the attitude of the rural CPSU organizations to all this? They have none! Just as during the work of the 28th congress, the majority of rural party workers were on vacation.

Visit to Gorbachev's Native Village Detailed

PM1907160090 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 90 p 1

[O. Shapovalov article: "At the President's Home"]

[Text] Simbirsk, Gori, Dneprodzerzhinsk... But what about Privolnoye? What kind of a place is Gorbachev's birthplace?

...Illusions about special living conditions of some kind in Privolnoye vanish fast enough if you take a look at the local stores. Their shelves are not by any means sagging under the weight of goods, but nor can you say that the "cupboard is bare." Privolnoye's "supermarket"—that is what one American book called the local general store—has the usual range of goods for Stavropol Kray. Motor tourists coming to Privolnoye to shop are usually disappointed. Many of them think that in the president's homeland, if nowhere else, there will be a "land of plenty." Naivete? A far more complex phenomenon, in my view, than it may appear. All of us is here: our roots, our social psychology, that national character that is so enigmatic to foreigners...

When, 18 months ago, the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy decided for the first time to bring together for a "refresher course" the own correspondents of the central newspapers, one of us asked the hosts, not very tactfully: What are we to make of the luxury all around us, the abundance in the academy's buffets and cafeterias, the large-scale construction work, all this gloss and splendor? The administration, embarrassed, replied to the effect that after all, the restructuring of life to bring it up to civilized standards has to start somewhere. Why not at the Social Sciences Academy?.. The same logic causes near and distant neighbors of Privolnoye to waste gasoline. They think that they have calculated precisely the geographical point where perestroyka has already won, and if you go to the trouble, you can benefit from its fruits...

Among the myths created in earlier eras, the myth of the homeland of the chief [vozhd], the leader, as some kind of protected zone dedicated to that great name has proved one of the most resilient. No one ever conferred a special status on these settlements. But did not such a status exist, tangibly? Was there not a kind of aura shining over the "chosen" cities, shining brighter as the "dearly beloved local man" gained in brilliance? The reflected rays, falling on the local leadership and each individual inhabitant, were by no means always cold. Even if sausages were not supplied regularly, pride (often completely sincere) in the local man who had managed to reach the very top of the pyramid filled people's hearts, all the same.

In the fall of 1979 the elderly L.I. Brezhnev visited the city of Dneprodzerzhinsk in connection with an important event—the erection of a bust of himself in his homeland. Glancing at the monument, which was many times larger than the original in both weight and volume, Leonid Ilich, apparently satisfied with this manifestation of the whole people's love, took a piece of paper from his pocket and read aloud: "...It is rather strange to see your own image in bronze, although this is the custom under our law for those on whom the lofty title of Hero has been conferred more than once. But on the other hand, let me say frankly: I am pleased that I am, so to speak, always here, among my dear fellow countrymen..."

Dneprodzerzhinsk itself began, as it were, to turn to bronze as a result of the presence of the bronze double of the Kremlin deity. The secretaries, department chiefs, and instructors on party committees, soviet officials, and employees grew bronze armor. A bronze dust hung in the air, settling on everyone and everything. Just think, that was not much more than 10 years ago...

Bronze is treacherous, dangerous, and as poisonous as mercury. It poisoned several generations of Soviet people, it ate into the tissue, the brain, and very nearly the genes of the nation. I ask myself, why are we so fault-finding with Gorbachev? Why are we so suspicious? Why do some parliamentarians consider it their duty publicly to be rude to him, sometimes overstepping all parliamentary limits? Is it not the reaction of an organism ridding itself of the poison of bronze dust?

The fear of being oppressed by yet another bust is still with us, present in every cell. When you are rude, and nothing happens—the fear recedes for a while. I cannot think of any other explanation. Surely we are not so unintelligent as to fail to respect our own choice?

Gorbachev's five years, which turned the whole world upside down, would seem to have shown clearly what can be expected of this man. The television cameras show him up like x-rays. But all the same, on arriving in Privolnoye, you catch yourself thinking: What if? What if, after all, even just a little shoot were to spring up?

After all, it is only natural for fellow countrymen, fellow villagers—to do something to commemorate, to mark...

No museums, no exhibition room, no commemorative plaque—nothing... Even at the school, where they usually put the best pupils on a display panel, the journalists, mainly foreigners, setting off on a "Gorbachev tour" of Stavropol Kray are as disappointed as the people who come in search of scarce goods. The few early photographs that are in the kray museum of Komsomol [communist youth league] history and the local history museum in Krasnogvardeyskiy have been reproduced many times and published by journals, newspapers, and on television, at least in the West. If you ask very insistently, the guide at the Komsomol museum will show you the office where M.S. Gorbachev worked when he was working for the All-Union Lenin Komsomol.

Veniamin Artemovich Lutsenko, director of the small local history museum in Krasnogvardeyskiy, complained:

"Time passes, but they are not giving the 'go-ahead' to put together an exhibition about a fellow countryman who was chosen as 'man of the year' and even 'man of the decade' overseas. Of course, you cannot track down the felt boots once given by Grandfather Panteley, chairman of the Privolnoye Kolkhoz, to his grandson Mikhail—to get to school in the rayon center in winter. And there is not much point. But how can we get hold of the pen with which the treaty on eliminating missiles was signed in Washington? You remember, Mikhail Sergeyevich said at the time, look, this is a museum piece now. I would write and ask, only..."

An old soldier and war veteran, Lutsenko is not obliged to act on his own authority. In Krasnogvardeyskiy they remember a request that was once made: that there should be nothing of that kind. The thoroughness with which this request is fulfilled in the president's homeland is also a kind of respect.

The majority of us do not have much idea what it is like to live constantly in the sights of the mass media. Especially those that have only recently made their way out into the vast operating spaces of glasnost. But it was interesting to hear the observations of A.G. Zavalikhina, ideology secretary of Krasnogvardeyskiy party raykom [rayon committee], who usually accompanies journalists—our own and foreign—to Privolnoye.

"The foreigners are more tactful," Alla Georgiyevna observed. "In any case, none of them, after being forewarned, has tried to gain entry to the house of Mikhail Sergeyevich's mother, Mariya Panteleyevna. It is more difficult to explain that to our own journalists. One Central Television film crew was determined to film that subject for a popular program. Surely people can understand that it is not right to disturb an elderly person, whether or not it is the president's mother?"

At the age of 79 Mariya Panteleyevna Gorbacheva continues to keep house independently and bakes her own bread from long habit, although the kolkhoz bakery that sprang up a few years ago has removed this problem for the 3,000 inhabitants of Privolnoye. Mariya Panteleyevna recently acquired a color television to replace her old "Rekord" set. Neither the television set nor the fresh paintwork at the house cost the state or party budget a kopek.

Only the salaries of the KGB staffers can be counted as official expenditure. Their presence here, like that of the barrier on the road leading to the house, can be explained not so much by the journalists' burning desire to interview Mariya Panteleyevna, as by the visits of people trying to convey petitions to the Kremlin. Their efforts are in vain, because men with a characteristic appearance advise them to make use of mailboxes instead. Mariya Panteleyevna's rural house has no ostentatious entrance, and the "petitioners" are not like characters in Nekrasov. So the smart, athletic-looking guys earn their keep.

Some time ago it was rumored in the village that Mariya Panteleyevna was to go to Moscow and sell the house. The president's pragmatic fellow villagers were not averse to asking the price of a nice dwelling. But his mother told her neighbor, Nikolay Vasilyevich Dorokhov, secretary of the kolkhoz party organization: "I lived in Moscow before. I don't see my son there, any more than I do here. He would go out at six and come back at night... I'm not going anywhere."

The last time the president was in his homeland was three and a half years ago. He spent 40 minutes in the paternal house, another 40 talking with the villagers, and then—back in the car. A man who does not belong to himself or to his mother.

One must agree that the style, the type of behavior, chosen by Gorbachev, which include the request, or rather ban, that he imposed on his fellow countrymen, is correct and appropriate. It is not so much a question of modesty as of policy. We seldom see Gorbachev wearing his medals, even on festive days, though he has many awards. One of them is the order of the Labor Red Banner, which he received as a schoolboy for working on the combine and has nothing to do with any kind of "apparatus." Thousands of order-bearers and heroes may complain that the significance of government awards is thereby belittled. But millions remember something else, something that has not yet disappeared in the mists of history. Five years is no time in history.

If we manage to pull out of the present sharp bend, everything will fall into place. Even in that delicate sphere, the ability to pay tribute to your leaders, to presidents. The Americans and French do not only know how to criticize theirs. They make busts, too—though not during the person's lifetime. And it does not matter. Neither the New World nor Europe with its "Common Market" has gone to ruin because of this. For us, obviously, it is still too soon. And therefore an M.S. Gorbachev museum, in Stavropol Kray or anywhere else, is not yet possible. Not even commemorative badges, not even a display board in the school. We are not ready, we have not grown up enough. But as for the pen that the old soldier Veniamin Artemovich Lutsenko dreams of... I do not think it would be immodest, I do not think anyone would misinterpret it, if visitors to the museum in Krasnogvardeyskiy could see the pen that crossed out a whole class of missiles. Especially since it now belongs not to Mikhail Sergeyevich, but to history.

Visit to KGB Higher School Reported

PM1807104790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by A. Fedorov under the rubric "Top Secret": "House on Pelshe Street; Reportage From 'Closed' Educational Establishment in the Southwest of the Capital—the KGB Higher School"]

[Text] Moscow—At 1030 hours he was called to see the chairman. He walked the familiar corridors of the administration and analyzed once more for himself the events of the past two days, trying to recall everything down to the slightest details. He knew that tomorrow a story about this operation would appear in the newspapers. Only his name would fail to appear in the press. Well, he himself had chosen his life and profession and had consciously entered into anonymity when he joined the KGB Higher School...

The most improbable rumors circulate about this educational establishment in southwest Moscow. For instance: "They recruit people the way they did for the kamikaze pilots: They look for orphans in children's homes or the 'thoroughbred' sons of big bosses and generals. The training is worse than three years on a submarine—there are no outside contacts. And they also have an underground passage to the Kremlin and the Lubyanka."

For many years it was impossible to check whether that was true or not: People were not allowed into the KGB Higher School from "off the street" and official reference works did not even mention this educational establishments. The enormous building without plates or identifying marks stood, arousing the interest of ordinary people and my journalist colleagues, giving rise to hundreds of the most diverse statements. And then we turned for explanations to the "competent organs" or more simply to the USSR KGB. We did not have to wait long for a reply: "Come and see it all for yourselves."

OFFICIAL. The USSR KGB Order of the October Revolution Higher School named for F.E. Dzerzhinskiy is in Moscow, at No. 4 Pelshe Street. The school trains staffers for work within the system of the state security organs in the following directions: military counterintelligence, operational workers for the territorial organs, investigators, engineers and mathematicians, and radio communications experts. There is an extramural faculty and a department for people with higher education. The figures for the Higher School budget and the number of students and graduates are still secret and not publishable.

...Our meeting was scheduled for 0900 hours but with A. Kitkovskiy, a staffer at the KGB public relations center, I arrived 15 minutes early. At first I did not notice anything special. A higher educational establishment like any other. The only difference was that instead of the traditional institute janitors at the entrance there were ensigns in forage caps with cap bands of the Cheka's cornflower blue. And there was a spacious hall with an announcement board: "New movie at the club tomorrow" and "whoever left a black briefcase in the auditorium should apply to..." But the students, or pupils as they are called here, are in military uniform and in the reception room of the rector or school boss instead of the traditional secretary there is a smiling lieutenant assistant.

Today we present for the first time the man whose name used to be mentioned only in secret KGB documents. The school's chief—Lieutenant General L. Postnikov, a candidate of juridical sciences and lecturer.

"The history of our educational establishment," Leonid Andreyevich says, "is the history of society, the state, and the KGB organs. We have things to be proud of and there are things which will remain in our memory forever as a bitter lesson. It all began with courses under the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage which, with V.I. Lenin's permission, opened in 1918. Lectures and classes were taken at the time by leaders of all ranks—right up to F.E. Dzerzhinskiy. In 1930, a USSR Soviet of People's Commissars United State Political Administration central school was organized and was situated in Moscow not far from today's Dzerzhinskiy Square. It is distressing to say this, but the repressions of the thirties removed the best cadres among the chekists too. Here is a tragic fact: In 1937-1939 all five chiefs of the school who held the post in the thirties were convicted and shot. Many staffers and teachers were subjected to repressions.

"During the war the school trained over 7,000 scouts and counterintelligence agents many of whom were decorated with high government awards. They include Heroes of the Soviet Union Ye. Mirkovskiy, D. Medvedev, V. Molodtsov, V. Lyagin, and others.

"After the war the training formula was changed: Specialists were needed to work under peace time conditions. In 1952 the school was turned into a higher educational establishment and began to train cadres with higher legal education."

OFFICIAL. Students are selected for the KGB Higher School through territorial organs. Anyone wanting to enter it must submit a written application to the rayon or city department or oblast administration of the KGB or military unit special department. After a talk and a thorough acquaintance the applicant is directed to

Moscow to take the entrance examinations. In the majority of faculties army service or work in production for at least two years, good health, lofty qualities of morale and toughness, and the readiness to serve anywhere in the USSR after graduation are essential requirements. Applicants for the counterintelligence and investigation faculties take examinations in Russian language and literature, the history of the USSR, and a foreign language while applicants for the technical faculties take examinations in mathematics and physics. At last year's competition there were three to seven applicants for each place and the pass mark was 17-19 out of 20.

...I asked to be tested on a "lie detector." In the specialists' language this device, renowned in many detective stories, has a very dry name—the "polygraph"—and is a large metal box with several panels with lights and a bunch of leads.

"It's all very simple: You will give answers to my questions and I shall tell you when you are misleading me and when you are telling the truth," Candidate of Psychological Sciences I. Borodin explained.

He attached a small transmitter to my little finger and into my other hand he put a simple instrument with a small lever in the middle. A figure showed up on the screen—68.

"Is that my pulse?" I asked.

"Quite right. Now get ready and remember: Only I ask questions, you answer 'yes' or 'no' and you must keep the lever in the middle position."

The questions came thick and fast. I noticed with surprise that each untrue answer was precisely recorded: Either my pulse would speed up or the treacherous arrow would start to jump up or down. Within three minutes I had "surrendered."

"Don't be upset," Igor Alekseyevich reassured me. "It is easy to train yourself. But don't think that that is how students are tested here. It is simply that psychology is an important aspect of training a chekist and some tests help us select applicants."

"But are there some counterindications to studying at your school?"

"Above all for work later. Abrasiveness, excessive emotional excitability, or pathological traits. Any of our graduates will have to encounter the most diverse people and situations in his very responsible work. The grumbler and the tiresome person will not survive in the collective and an excessively trusting investigator will be twisted around the finger of an experienced criminal in two seconds, while an unbalanced operational worker could do irreparably stupid things. With the aid of our apparatus we can predict even the applicants' ability to study a particular language. For instance, some oriental languages require excellent hearing: If you pronounce a word in a slightly different tone the meaning changes immediately.

"The 'lie detector' is no more than an aid for students. But the ability to 'withstand' this instrument is sometimes necessary in practice. Here is just one confirmation.

"A few years ago Albert Yanovich Bundulis, a graduate of the Higher School from the days of the Great Patriotic War, died. From 1946, in leading work in the Latvian state security organs, he had spent eight years taking part personally in complex operational measures to combat the subversive activity of the British and U.S. intelligence services. With his detachment created from operational workers of the state security organs and former partisans, he received a group of British spies on Latvian territory and "minded" them for nearly 18 months and then the British moved him to London on their own responsibility and there he became an 'adviser to the Latvian national government for special questions' and 'adviser on eastern questions' under the British intelligence 'Nord' department.

"The main task set before A. Bundulis by the Soviet counterintelligence was to study the system whereby British spies were penetrating the Soviet Union and to control these secret routes. It was a hard 'game,' a lone struggle against a powerful and intelligent enemy, a struggle codenamed 'Amber Sea.' Successfully performing operational measures, A. Bundulis skillfully directed the enemy's actions into the channel necessary to the state security organs and controlled them. After being tested on the 'lie detector,' which authenticated his 'very valuable information,' he was awarded a British order, supplied with a portable radio transmitter and the addresses of other agents, and sent back to the USSR. A few months later a telegram arrived in London reading: 'The game is up, I am a chekist.' This brilliantly conducted operation was a substantial blow to the [British] intelligence service. But even the people close to Albert Yanovich never heard a word from him about it."

"Someone who wants to become famous, someone who is ambitious, even in the good sense of the word," I was told by Colonel E. Michulis, the school's deputy chief, "is scarcely suitable for us. After all, his life may take shape in such a way that there is no room for his talents to develop, acquaintances have to be reduced to a minimum and there must be no parading whatever of his successes in service, however deserved. Work in the KGB in no way promotes glory. Service with us is nothing to do with adventures, there are no James Bond stunts, no endless trips abroad. There is painstaking work requiring knowledge, persistence, honesty, and modesty. Of the hundreds of counterintelligence agents, investigators, and other workers awarded combat orders in peace time I can tell of only a few."

...Then I was taken to premises which I think not only any little boy but even a grown man dreams of visiting.

"This is the renowned Uzi," Lieutenant Colonel Andrey Kozlov, a senior teacher, placed a light submachine gun in the palm of his hand and held it out to me. "All in all it's quite a machine. Of course, it is well advertized in the West and the movies alone have publicity value. But it's still a long way from our AKSU."

Handling weapons is an important element of the program for training Higher School students alongside physical training, which demands extraordinary endurance. At the summer courses shooting practice, hand-to-hand combat, cross-country running, and swimming are sometimes allocated up to 20 hours a week. It is important to know how to shoot and run. But that is not the main thing.

OFFICIAL. The main avenue of the KGB higher educational establishment is the juridical one. The majority of students receive the diploma of a lawyer and legal expert when they graduate. Their grant during their period of study ranges from 75 rubles [R] a month in the junior courses to R95 in the senior courses. To back up the study process the school has department for general legal disciplines, criminalistics, criminal law and procedure, international law, civil law, and others. As of this year a special course on the struggle against organized crime has begun. The students study information technology, finance, banking, and foreign trade operations.

The school's teachers include two corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, over 40 doctors of sciences, and about 400 candidates of sciences.

...I asked to be shown some "closed" faculty. Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor Colonel Boris Aleksandrovich Pogorelov, the school's deputy chief, smiled:

"Then you must visit our technical faculty. It really is 'closed'—not a single window looks out onto the street—the architects made an effort. Passers-by are lost in conjecture: What do they have there behind the blank wall? What we have 'there' is just a corridor so there is as little noise as possible from the street."

To have a graphic idea of what kind of specialists are prepared in this faculty, you should add to a solid technical university education legal and military training, radio science, and special disciplines. Then you will get the picture.

"And now we will show you the technical countermeasures laboratory and demonstrate the possibilities for the leakage of information through technical channels," Colonel A. Petrovich turned on a personal computer, went up to an ordinary television set linked to some kind of unit, and tuned it. The same information that was on the display screen appeared on the television.

"If you do not want other people to know your commercial secrets you must protect your computer and, incidentally, all civilized countries pay great attention to this." Then Anatoliy Ivanovich took a telephone receiver and twiddled the tuner of an absolutely ordinary "VEF" [expansion unknown] receiver. Within a second a buzzer sounded from the loudspeaker and when at my request they dialed 100 the receiver announced the time in a monotonous voice.

"There is nothing complicated about it—some ordinary telephones, and not just telephones, emit signals which can easily be picked up with a 'store-bought' receiver."

"Anatoliy Ivanovich, I have heard that in Italy pop music mafiosi, sitting a kilometer away from the concert hall, have intercepted and obtained a recording of excellent quality of the entire San Remo festival and then put millions of bootleg cassettes on the market?"

"If that is so, it is a classic example demonstrating the possibilities for using technical espionage means for commercial purposes, which confirms once again the need to take countermeasures."

The logic is simple: Weapons of defense must be adequate to counter offensive weapons. In the West lapel pin microphones, vases containing transmitters, and even flowers containing television cameras are almost freely on sale. You can imagine what respectable special services and intelligence organs have at their disposal. And surely they are not alone?! A case is known of our homegrown mafiosi eavesdropping from an automobile on interrogations under way at No. 38 Petrovka Street [headquarters of Moscow militia].

OFFICIAL. The technical faculty teaches electronic espionage and computer virus countermeasures, how to ensure the security of state communications channels, and much else.?

...During the three days I spent in the KGB Higher School I found no orphans or "specially bred" men. The most ordinary boys, perhaps a little more serious than their contemporaries. Many of those with whom I spoke are waiting for the law on the USSR's state security, which the Supreme Soviet is to adopt. The law will help lift the shroud of excessive secrecy from the KGB, which is still giving rise to many rumors and stories about the activity of its staffers, and will determine precisely and openly not only their rights and duties but also their guarantees of social protection.

My notebook was full of interesting names and facts but the strict framework of a newspaper does not allow me to describe everything in one item. I hope that this will be continued by my colleagues, especially as the Higher School seems to be open to journalists and the people in general.

...And now about a man whose name was not mentioned by newspapermen when they described the famous "Thunder" operation. You remember that criminals had taken hostage schoolchildren who were released only after the terrorists had been supplied with hard currency and narcotics and allowed to fly to Israel? A day after the operation the newspapers were full of reports and details about the events which took place and gave the names of the brave teacher and the selfless employee of the

Stavropol Kray KGB administration, and interviews were given by diplomats, civil aviation pilots, staffers from the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Ministry of Finance, and dozens of other people whose participation had determined the success of the whole business. He alone, as had been the case before, remained to one side. He was not offended or disappointed, although his role in the operation was, frankly, the determining one—such is his job.

But today the taboo on his name is lifted. And with respect for this man's courage and modesty we can name him—Gennadiy Nikolayevich Zaytsev, a Hero of the Soviet Union, whose awards were known only to a few colleagues, a graduate of the USSR KGB Higher School.

Return of Church Property Supported

90UN2254A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Letter from the Karpov family, Leningrad: "The Church, the State, and Justice"]

[Text] It is gratifying that progressive new laws are now being adopted. At the same time it pains us to see that they bear the stamp of the same old mistakes. Take the Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations. In Article 14 it says that the soviets of people's deputies may (!) transfer to religious organizations to own or use free of charge religious buildings and other property owned by the state. And further: The transfer to religious organizations and the use by them of objects and entities that are monuments of history and culture are carried out in keeping with legislation.

You read this and you think: Should you thank them or should you grieve? After all, our state did not build the religious buildings. On the contrary, it destroyed them. How much church property, gold, and precious gems were sold abroad and for what prices? There was a policy of destroying the spiritual and historical roots of the people themselves. As a result, we have what we have.

So we are speaking about the fact that the local soviets "may" turn over (so may they also not turn them over?) or, rather, return to the church that which did not belong to them and could not belong to them. In our view, all property, all structures, all temples, along with all the territory occupied by the destroyed temples, right down to the last icon, should be turned over by the state to the legitimate owner. We are grateful for the fact that the church, in spite of everything, has directed and is directing all of its forces toward the moral restoration of the people without asking the state for a single kopeck to compensate for its devoted efforts.

Romanovs Remembered in Sverdlovsk

LD1707161790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Jul 90

[Text] Our correspondent reports from Sverdlovsk: It was as if an echo of summer 1918 sounded over the place in the city where a meeting of citizens with monarchist views has just been held. It was a continuation of an evening, held the previous day, in memory of the Romanov family, shot on the orders of the executive committee of Ural oblast soviet in Ipatyevskiy House. Clergymen who arrived here from Kurgan and Zagorsk held a requiem mass. Participants in the meeting, whose organizers were representatives of the Democratic and Monarchist parties, and the societies Fatherland and Meeting 1987 societies, called for Sverdlovsk's former name, Yekaterinburg, to be restored. Thus, a whole epoch later, in a place near the mansion in whose celler the Romanovs were executed in the night of 16-17 July 1918, the passions of various political forces clashed.

New Weekly for Far Eastern Countries Planned

LD1907115290 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—A new Soviet weekly is expected to hit the streets next year in the Soviet Far East, publishers said.

The newspaper, THE EASTERN EXPRESS, aims to promote common human values and cooperation betwen Far Eastern countries.

It will cover social, economic and ethnic problems in Siberia and the Soviet Far East.

The Soviet news agency TASS is one of its founders.

A trial issue will be published in October

Economic

Overall Industrial Decline Decreases in 1990

PM1907190190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by V. Romanyuk under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Six Months Have Passed—Shortages Remain"]

[Text] According to the preliminary data at the USSR Goskomstat's [State Committee for Statistics] disposal, the country's industry completed the first half of 1990 without the appreciable changes for the better promised in January when the program for economic recovery was being drawn up. The volume of commodity production attained by industry during January-June proved lower than in the first half of 1989 by 0.7 percent. If you convert this to wholesale prices, it means 3.2 billion rubles [R] less. Distressing information!

The final month of the half-year period—June—was in no way gratifying either. In that month two percent less industrial commodity output was produced than in June 1989. True, this time we had one work day less which could not fail to affect sectors with a noncontinuous cycle. The average daily indicators remained at last year's level.

According to the half-year results, production volume in the fuel and energy complex fell 1.3 percent compared with the corresponding period last year. At the same time a three percent increase was secured in gas extraction while oil extraction fell five percent and coal extraction fell six percent. In all, two percent less fuel was obtained than during January-June 1989.

Naturally, all this dragged with it the whole chain of the national economic complex. Production of oil-refining products is already falling. The drop in raw-material chemistry is continuing: During January-June production of synthetic ammonia fell 10 percent, caustic soda nine percent, soda ash five percent, and sulfuric acid four percent. And yet all these are very important types of raw material resources, essential to the manufacture of end products—mineral fertilizers whose production fell 10 percent, synthetic detergents, and much more besides. The shortage of plastics intensified: Polyethylene production fell 5 percent and that of synthetic fibers and threads 0.6 percent. The drop in paper production does not seem very great—two percent. But if you take into account the rapid growth in the circulations of popular publications and the exacerbated shortage of newsprint, then quite frankly the fact that the paper industry is marking time harms the development of glasnost.

Let us note the close interdependence of the various national economic complexes. Metallurgical workers, for example, felt the reduction in fuel resources. During the first half of the year, production of finished rolled metal products fell by 1 million tonnes compared with the corresponding period last year, while that of steel pipes fell by 610,000 tonnes. All this in turn affected the machine-building complex. Production of forging and pressing machines with digital program control, excavators, instruments, and computer equipment continued to grow at a high rate. At the same time production of AC electric motors, trucks, electric locomotives, and passenger railcars fell. One of the reasons was the shortage of metal products and steel pipes.

Among the most important factors in the unstable economic situation, USSR Goskomstat Deputy Chairman V. Tolkushkin first named the disruption of established economic ties and the drop in discipline, particularly in fulfilling state orders and contractual obligations. This was clearly affected by the transitional period's problems and the disorganization of the activities of the command-administrative system's managerial structures. And in June these negative trends even intensified. Whereas shortfalls in deliveries of output stood at an average of R0.8 billion a month since the beginning of the year, in June they increased in toto to R1.3 billion. Second, the harm done to the economy by interethnic conflicts and strikes proved irredeemable. Although the situation is stabilizing in many regions, it has not yet been possible to rectify the situation. According to the first half-year results, the overall fall in production compared with the corresponding period last year amounted to 13 percent in Azerbaijan, 7.4 percent in Armenia, and 6.9 percent in Georgia. Last year's level was not reached in Lithuania or Tajikistan. Net losses from strikes totaled 10 million man-days; this is equivalent to 75,000 people being absent from their work places every day.

According to the six-month results, the total volume of delivery shortfalls amounted to R5.3 billion; the figure for the same period last year was R2.8 billion—almost half as much. To conclude the discussion of delivery discipline, let us point out that contractual obligations were fulfilled by 98.6 percent in industry during January-June, but only 97.8 percent in the chemical and timber complex and 98.2 percent in light industry. The sectors that lagged furthest behind included the Ministries of the Timber Industry and the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making (97.2 percent) and the "Agrokhim" Association (97.8 percent).

June made no substantial amendments to the commodity market situation either. On approaching the USSR Goskomstat building, I saw a tremendous line outside a tobacco kiosk. I came out one hour later: neither a line nor cigarettes. One more shortage had been created, as it were. If you examine the group of essential goods you notice increases: 10 percent for irons and batteries, 7 percent for household and toilet soap, 5 percent for teapots, and 8 percent for aluminum plates and dishes. But there is no abundance of even these goods. And once again there was a drop in production of certain articles: Production of wooden pencils fell 21 percent, that of stainless steel safety razor blades by 14 percent, and that of cigarettes and traditional Russian cigarettes [papirosy] by 9 percent. Today even a slight hiccup in production gives rise to speculative demand, stockpiling, etc. Panic on the commodity market "swept up" pasta and flour, although their production had even increased. But as for groats, their production fell by three percent.

According to the half-year results, the increase in sugar and whole-milk output over January-June 1989 amounted to just two percent, with figures of three percent for confectionary products and five percent for butter. There was a drop of four percent for meat from raw materials of state resources, one percent for vegetable oil, as much as seven percent for canned fruit and vegetables, six percent for nonalcoholic beverages, and five percent for mineral waters.

On the other hand, there is gratifying stable growth in the defense sectors which have undertaken to produce cultural and consumer goods. The defense industry now provides all television sets, 95 percent of refrigerators, three-fourths of vacuum cleaners and washing machines, and half the motorcycles and bicycles. The conversion of defense sectors has resulted in a 22-percent increase in retail prices over the first half of last year.

Light industry produced quite a modest increase during the 6 months—2.5 percent, again in retail prices. But if you take physical indicators, the increase amounted to

1.4 percent for knitted goods and 0.3 percent for footwear. Production of cotton fabrics fell one percent compared with the first half of 1989, while that of linen fabrics fell four percent and silk fabrics 0.8 percent.

If we compare this with the volumes defined in the program for economic recovery, we will see that the present level for groups of commodities is less than envisaged by the state orders for this year by a factor of 1.5 to four. The absolute increase in consumer goods during the first half-year amounted to R14 billion—this is less than one-fourth of the increase planned for the year (R60 billion).

Any increase is better than none, the reader will point out. So where are the goods? Alas, they have been swallowed up by the patently more rapid increase in the population's income: It had been planned to secure a 7-percent increase in the labor remuneration fund, but 12 percent was secured (an excess by a factor of 1.6). And where there is a lot of money—not always earned—there are not enough goods as confirmed by stores' empty shelves.

Gosbank Chairman Discusses Russian Bank Law

LD1807212190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Interview with Viktor Vladimirovich Gerashchenko, chairman of the board of the USSR State Bank, Gosbank, by Aleksandr Fedorovich from the "Vremya" newscast; date of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer Igor Fesunenko] In the process of economic perestroyka which has started, a special role—this is natural—is played by the banking system. Published in the press has been a resolution of the RSFSR Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet called "The RSFSR State Bank and the Banks on the Republic's Territory." Recorded in this resolution is a decision of the Russian parliament to declare that all banks functioning on Russia's territory are the property of the whole republic. Our corespondent asked Viktor Vladimirovich Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] board, to comment on this resolution.

[Federovich] So then, a situation has arisen which can be called a conflict between the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the one hand and the USSR Gosbank on the other. So what has happened, Viktor Vladimirovich?

[Gerashchenko] In my view, unfortunately, the Supreme Soviet—evidently on the basis of not very qualified professional advice—hurriedly passed a resolution which is not a step toward the development of commodity-money relationships in the country, toward the stabilization of money in circulation, but a step in completely the opposite direction.

[Fedorovich] What consequences can be expected after such a decision?

[Gerashchenko] Well, after such a decision—if it is complied with—first, new structures may emerge which are totally unprepared for conducting payment operations. And, as you know, developed national economic ties essentially do not have any regional or republican boundaries in our country. But the formation of such independent banks requires appropriate economic sanctions, I would say, by the Central Bank.

[Fedorovich] And what is the way out of the conflict situation?

[Gerashchenko] We will be forced to propose to the president that he suspend such an action, and to me it seems, on the whole, that here many questions now arising in some or other republic must be tackled in an organized way via the soonest possible conclusion of an all-Union treaty, and not through partisan swoops of that kind.

[Fedorovich] You want to say that a new law on the State Bank must make its appearance?

[Gerashchenko] Yes, in our time such a law is necessary. It essentially figures in the list of priority laws—the law on the State Bank and the law on bank work—and we hope that after the Supreme Soviet assembles on 1 September it will soon be examined.

Course of Economic Changes Reviewed

904A0480A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 28, 11 Jul 90 pp 3, 15

[Interview with A.I. Volskiy, president of the USSR Scientific-Industrial Union, by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Yu. Rost; date and place not given: "A Triangle With Two Angles?"—"interview published without the excerpt carried in the announcement in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No. 27"; first three paragraphs are paper's introduction:]

[Text] *Recently, the name of Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy has been associated with a search for ways to solve the Karabakh problem. For one and a half years this intelligent and energetic man, who has surprisingly retained his sociable disposition and a realistic view of life despite his high posts in the CPSU Central Committee, headed the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] Special Administration Committee. He acquired experience which few people can boast. He endeavored to keep and defend the people, and certain things worked. To my mind his recommendations to the government could have helped us avoid many tragic events had they been heeded in a serious and timely manner.*

Conceit is alien to him, and he makes contacts without prejudice. I observed his communication with Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov in Karabakh. These were frank conversations of two people seeking complex solutions. Volskiy did everything to paint a complete picture of the drama. He concealed nothing; he was sincerely interested *in the views of Andrey Dmitrieyevich and accepted them not at all as a matter of courtesy.*

The very course of his life prompted Volskiy to continue engaging in politics, but suddenly the first congress of the Scientific-Industrial Union unanimously elected him president. Actually, the company assembled at the congress, whose competence and authority on issues of science and industry is perhaps not inferior to that of the parliament and the Council of Ministers—Ye. Velikhov, L. Abalkin, P. Bunich, Zh. Alferov, N. Travkin, G. Novozhilov, V. Tikhonov, I. Silayev, A. Tarasov, Yu. Osipyan, Yu. Ryzhov....

[Rost] Arkadiy Ivanovich, congratulations on your election to the presidency. Still, how is this abrupt change in your interests to be explained?

[Volskiy] There was an abrupt change when I headed for Karabakh. A return has now occurred to the topic I have been involved with all my life—the economy, production....

[Rost] It would be natural to ask another question associated with the Scientific-Industrial Union. However, the congress is now underway and I would like to ask you several questions in your capacity as a congress delegate and member of the Central Committee, and then return to the Scientific-Industrial Union.

The 28th CPSU Congress, as well as the Constituent Congress of the Russian Communist Party, have once again given us reason to refer to a crisis in the leading party....

[Volskiy] ...until recently the party was criticized only for falling behind perestroyka, whereas now the opponents have another trump card—unconsidered haste. The initial reaction to the Russian congress is far from unequivocal both among communists belonging to various social groups and the territories and regions of not only Russia but the country as a whole. For now we are not discussing the outside world though, as you would understand, the significance of this issue transcends greatly the framework of the party, the republic, and the country.

[Rost] When LITERATURNAYA GAZETA reaches its readers the congress will probably be drawing to a close. Tell us please what you expected of the congress.

[Volskiy] First of all we need a capable, working Central Committee unlike the present one—you may recall that more than 100 people have retired from this composition of it for reasons of old age and health. Apparently, many of them have simply received perestroyka badly. It is easy to see that recently the Central Committee has been on the sidelines as far as many important sore points are concerned.

From among whom should we elect new members? In keeping with existing tradition we should elect them from among congress delegates, communists with the greatest authority including the leaders of republic, kray, oblast, and rayon party organizations. However, a considerable segment of the organizations have assumed a wait-and-see attitude and postponed their report-and-election conferences until the "post congress" period. It is absolutely obvious that the communists will not support the adherents of such "hiding one's head in the sand" policies, and many of the "former ones" will not be elected to the local party organs. However, these "generals without armies" may end up in the composition of the Central Committee. In this case...once again our supreme organ and brain center will fail to keep up with events....

The renewed CPSU Central Committee Platform—though with a different name this time—was published as late as the eve of the last plenum before the congress. We have not seen new redactions of the Democratic and Marxist platforms.

[Rost] What is your view of the concentrated attack on the general secretary and president by the delegates who believe that their cause is right—which I have no doubts about—just because it is not left?

[Volskiy] Of course neither the president nor the general secretary, especially the latter, should be outside the sphere of criticism. However, our customary rush from one extreme to the other and the low level of not only general but also political culture frequently bring about the criticism of a position being replaced with common boorishness. I resolutely do not accept this, whoever it is leveled against, even more so against the president of our state.

You know, I like a great deal Andrey Makarevich from "The Time Machine." He has a song about the era of the courageous coming to an end, and the era of the safely courageous beginning. These safely courageous individuals, who are particularly full-throated now when this is "authorized," very recently sang a different song just as loudly. They follow the taste of the listeners perceptively. I think that Makarevich is right. To be sure, in his time he was taken to the militia dozens of times for singing his songs.

[Rost] This is understandable as far as the form of criticism is concerned, but what about its essence? For example, combining top posts. It is perhaps true that criticism on this account could have been avoided altogether had the holding of some other post been constitutionally prohibited for the president right away, and the recommendation been made at the same time that the top person in the country suspend his membership in any party.

[Volskiy] Belonging to a party and one's views are covered by the category of freedom of conscience guaranteed by the constitutions of a majority of states.... Nonetheless, I believe that the president, who is called upon to make decisions in the name of the interests of the entire people, should not be bound by the provisions of the statute of his party during this period of time. In making state decisions he should be free of party discipline.

As far as combining positions is concerned, I believe that this is not only possible but even necessary in our bustling time. Recall the words of Academician Likhachev at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies when the president was being elected. The feeling of alarm and a warning of the danger of civil disturbance, chaos, blood, and violence were heard in them.... This was scary even in tiny Nagorno-Karabakh. Is there really a single responsible individual today who would dream about an inferno on one-sixth of the globe?

It was exactly on this basis that I clearly determined my position for voting at the congress.

[Rost] Against the right? How do you describe yourself—as a centrist?

[Volskiy] I do not know what the center is about. It appears that it is those who do not want to change anything but are embarrassed to admit it. I would describe myself as a member of the reformist group in which I also include Gorbachev. However, I believe that this group still has to move further to the left.

[Rost] Does it not seem to you that you, let us put it this way, are failing to win at a second congress now?

[Volskiy] In this matter our assessments differ. If it is possible I would express my opinion of the actions of the right in the words of Peter I: "They are making victory out of discomfiture." Does the press understand this?

[Rost] It does. However, it is necessary for the reformers to help journalists by resolute actions if more than just the press is to understand this. Otherwise, the good intentions of party reformers which we suspect exist will be the only good deed which the newspapers will mention—in the distant future.

[Volskiy] It looks as though we have moved very far away from the topic of our conversation....

[Rost] Having just emerged, your union has attracted extraordinary attention. Academic institutes and the largest plants, railroads, defense industry enterprises, banks, and lessees all came together under your umbrella.... Out of your earshot, the union is referred to as "the Industrial Party."

[Volskiy] Nothing of the kind.

[Rost] Is this going to be a depoliticized organization?

[Volskiy] We cannot put it this way because we are going to implement a particular economic policy. Market relations are such a policy. There is simply no other way out of the current critical situation. For the most part the people understand this, and justifiably criticize the government for inconsistency, for the absence of a clear-cut policy. Several years ago the people were assured that we are not going to proceed toward a market. Subsequently, they started talking about individual elements of a market, and by now even about a regulated market. What next?

[Rost] However, it appears that economic functionaries have no clear notion of what the market economy is all about.

[Volskiy] This is exactly the task of the union—to render assistance to those who begin to enter the new economic environment of the all-Union market. It is impossible to work out a correct development strategy in the absence of an objective deideologized (rather than depoliticized) analysis of the processes underway. We should not look for the shades of programs and slogans of various public organizations and get attuned to particular political positions in order to understand the prospects of the Scientific-Industrial Union; we should see something else—real economic and political structures, relations, and mechanisms.

[Rost] That is to say, use these structures for the purposes of your economic policy, i.e., creating the market. How?

[Volskiy] Through members of the union who belong to various sociopolitical and other movements or organizations, as well as through people's deputies in soviets at different levels. In the organs of legislative and executive power we will pursue a firm policy aimed at creating the most favorable conditions for increasing the efficiency of the economy, developing industry, and accelerating scientific-technical progress at enterprises and organizations regardless of their ownership arrangements. We believe that the union should use legislative initiatives vigorously and submit its proposals to the Supreme Soviet.

[Rost] Does it appear to you that the union may become an alternative to the USSR Council of Ministers?

[Volskiy] We do not intend to compete with ministries; we would rather be their opponents. Entrepreneurs need a protective structure.

[Rost] How do you define your location on the map of the economic life of our country?

[Volskiy] The following pattern has been proven in the practice of the world. We may present a typical model on the basis of which all developed countries function as a triangle. The government, the trade unions, and the entrepreneurs are its apexes and the legal, credit and finance, and information systems play the role of connecting elements. Apparently, our country will gradually draw closer to such a model. A reasonable balance of forces is necessary for the proper development of the national economy. For now, serious pressure on the production sphere by the government and the trade unions is emerging our country.

[Rost] You want to say that in our country....

[Volskiy] I want to say that to this day a quite original socioeconomic structure exists in our country—"a triangle with two angles." The Supreme Soviet and the government develop and adopt radical economic laws. The trade unions and public movements justifiably step up their pressure because they are concerned about reinforcing social guarantees. Strictly speaking, only the forces to which hopes for increasing production are attached actually have no mechanisms for defending or at least expressing their interests.

Large scientific-production associations, banks, concerns, and plants constitute the primary base of contemporary domestic entrepreneurship as it exists at present. All of them will have to make a transition to new economic relations and find a niche in the structure of a market economy. The success of the reform will be ensured to a considerable degree if they manage to adapt to the new conditions and overcome inertia and growth diseases.

At the same time, large-scale industry cannot and should not embrace the entire economic space. A network of medium-size and small state, joint-stock, leased, cooperative, and I stress private enterprises will be created along with it; they will be capable of responding flexibly to the developing needs of the market and implementing rapidly the achievements of scientific-technical progress. Incidentally, the Union of Lessees which is a corporate member of our union takes good care of this.

[Rost] You keep using the word "entrepreneur." After all, it was anathema for many years.

[Volskiy] "Private property" is also a combination of words which is hard to pronounce. So, are we to give it up because its unconventionally heretical essence jars upon some people?

[Rost] Fine, we understand private entrepreneurship. Can the director of a large plant, all the more so a defense industry plant, be an entrepreneur?

[Volskiy] He should be. However, to this end he needs freedom. At present he sells what he produces; we will help him produce what sells.... Concerning defense industry enterprises—their technological potential is just being squandered without any benefit to the plants and the country. The union will do everything to overcome "the domestic COCOM" and accomplish intellectual conversion. All members of the union will have access to a computer bank; we will provide them with all economic and scientific information, data on world market and union prices, market trends—in a word, everything.

[Rost] In this manner you could open up a securities exchange....

[Volskiy] Not right away. However, we cannot do without one in the future.

[Rost] Such an endeavor cannot be conceived without the participation of the world economy in it. Yours is a free, nongovernmental organization. Who are you going to cooperate with abroad—directly with companies?

[Volskiy] Of course with companies as well, but not only with them. Associations of entrepreneurs similar to our union have been one of the attributes of business circles of the West and Japan for many decades now. Their names differ but their essence is the same: the Federal Association of German Industry, the Confederation of British Industry, the National Council of French Patronage.... The Union of Industry Confederations and Entrepreneurs of Europe operates within the framework of the EEC. These are our future partners as well.

[Rost] The notion has been established here that foreign capital wants to fleece our country, use cheap labor and raw materials, and return home after having stuffed its pockets. This is why you should fork money over to us from your coffers, and we ourselves will buy something: perhaps equipment worth billions without technologies, or obsolete technologies worth millions....

[Volskiy] The experience of the world indicates that chasing after excessively high amounts of credit, which is what we have been doing with persistence worthy of a better cause, may drive the country into a debt hole. Meanwhile, attracting foreign capital and companies by means of organizing concessions, branches, and subsidiaries is one of the most efficient ways to modernize the economy. However, ideology has indeed shaped the point of view according to which attracting foreign entrepreneurs directly is more "shameful" than borrowing money from them because the former supposedly brings about the sale of national wealth.

Hence another major task of the union—to propagate the most rational relations of production and implement the norms of business ethics, improve the culture of partnership, and form a new economic thinking.

[Rost] Your union's plans are quite impressive. I even regret that I am not an entrepreneur, a scientist, or an economist. The company is good and the idea is clear. But how, by what means are you going to carry out what has been planned?

[Volskiy] According to its statutory norms the union should have an opportunity to set up its own funds and joint funds, joint-stock associations, and banks; conduct scientific and marketing research when commissioned by its members; set up business schools; hold exhibitions, fairs, and seminars; and carry out practical training of cadres. We will have our own expert review capability. In this matter institutes will have the main role to play. However, we are prepared to use various public and creative organizations and domestic and foreign specialists.

It will be necessary to have our own projections service for a number of fields—the development of production, market trends, and technical-economic, and also social consequences of technical solutions or draft laws.

[Rost] Social consequences mean taking into account the interests of those who end up thrown to "the Moloch" of entrepreneurship. However, you also have your own wards who have no rights whatsoever.

[Volskiy] Indeed, entrepreneurs are essentially outside the law at present. We do not have legal protection of intellectual property either. Guarantee of information safety is absent due to which we frequently sustain losses in the international exchange of knowledge, technologies, and research-intensive products, and fail to get our share in joint entrepreneurship.

[Rost] To what degree are our foreign partners protected?

[Volskiy] They also suffer from piracy. They complain about the absence in our country of legal norms and a structure capable of ensuring protection of their company secrets. This undermines their confidence in us. Very soon, the Scientific-Industrial Union will take steps to perfect all of these norms through legislative initiative procedures.

Putting it figuratively, it is necessary to bring together their inches and our centimeters and to standardize norms so that our nuts fit their screws. Is this a simple explanation?

[Rost] Quite simple. Who can be a member of the union?

[Volskiy] The doors are open to almost everyone. Managers of enterprises and organizations, entrepreneurs, scientists, engineers, and other people employed in the sphere of production, science, and research support may become individual members. Enterprises, organizations, their unions and associations, independent public organizations and their unions, cooperatives, and leasing collectives may be corporate members. The draft statute of the union stresses that belonging to the union does not entail any restrictions on citizens or corporate persons associated with their professional, manufacturing, commercial, and public activities.

[Rost] What about their party affiliation?

[Volskiy] I did say "and public activities."

Effects of Democratic Movement on Economic Reform

904A0491A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 29, 18 Jul 90 p 2

[Report on interview with M. Bocharov, USSR and RSFSR people's deputy and chairman of the Higher Economic Council of Russia, by I. Rishina, editor of the literary and social journalism department of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, under the rubric "Announcement": "500 Days of Hope and Risk"]

[Text] [Rishina] L. Abalkin was asked by a LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent, "If you had to describe the proposed economic reform in three words, what would those words be?" and he answered, "Priority of the consumer, freedom of the employer, and state regulation." How would you answer?

[Bocharov] First, new thinking. A change in the thinking of workers in the higher echelons of power and administration as well as of common laborers. Second, free enterprise at all levels—in industry, in agriculture, and in the nonproduction sphere. Third, complete exclusion of the word "forbid" from our economic lexicon. It is economic mechanisms which must work. And can I have a fourth? The obligatory depoliticization of production life and the organs of power: No party organs, either communist or others....

[Rishina] Are you a member of the CPSU?

[Bocharov] Today I signed a statement of resignation from the party. It was a difficult decision. I was a Communist with a 25-year record of service—it was a difficult re-evaluation. I did not see any fundamental changes in the results of the 28th congress. At the bottom of the statement along with my signature stand the names of two more members of the USSR Supreme Soviet—V. Tikhonov, academician at the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and A. Yablokova, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Rishina] Will you join another party?

[Bocharov] I am not going to join anything. I believe that all progressively-thinking people should unite in the mass sociopolitical movement "Democratic Russia." Participation in the movement does not compromise membership anywhere else. Its goal is to carry out in deeds, not words, radical democratic reforms in the political and economic system of our society. My deep conviction is that this movement must develop.

He also spoke about this an hour later during a meeting on Manezhnyy Square:

[Bocharov] The democratic movement holds the future of our people and the future of Russia. As a people's deputy and as the chairman of the Higher Economic Council of Russia I will do everything possible, everything in my power, to make Russia that mighty state which it is summoned to be. We do not wish to wait for 1991. We will solve economic problems today.

Read the conversation with M. Bocharov in the next issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

Issues Concerning Nuclear Power Viewed

PM2007085590 Mocow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Anatoliy Pokrovskiy, PRAVDA deputy editor for the science department, under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Nuclear Winter?"]

[Text] For the fifth year now not a day passes without the science department's mail including letters about nuclear power. Sometimes they make requests, like T. Trofimova's letter from Cheboksary suggesting that a map of regions contaminated by radiation be published so that it can be used when selecting where to go on summer vacation. Sometimes they are reflective letters, like the letter from A. Mamasyan, a Voronezh worker who is bewildered about the referendum on the fate of the Voronezh nuclear heat supply station: "In thinking about regional development and the transition to a market economy we must have a precise idea of what awaits Voronezh Oblast, which does not have its own energy resources. Discarding the nuclear heat supply station and handing it over to be pillaged? It is already being pillaged. Eating the cow and choking on the tail—that is the only thing that can be said of the situation with regard to the nuclear heat supply station. We have become attenders of meetings but we have not become proprietors...."

But protest letters form the majority. Demands to halt the construction of new nuclear power stations and close down existing ones come in from various parts of the country. That is understandable since the wound of Chernobyl continues to bleed. That is why the political assessment of the catastrophe at the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] adopted by the 28th party congress was so harsh. Social tension is mounting in the afflicted regions, the resolution notes. The growth of tension is assisted by the prolonged and unjustified secrecy around the Chernobyl tragedy; the contradictory nature of the assessments made, especially on the medical aspects; and the lack of objective information, comprehensible to the population, on the state of affairs.

How to act in this situation? To continue to pour salt on the wounds, so to speak, or nonetheless to find ways of healing them? There are many supporters of "surgical" intervention—freezing the development of AES's and cutting them off from our power engineering. Under their pressure work has stopped at 20 construction sites at the study stage, work has been stopped at 15 at the construction stage, and work has been stopped at four construction sites at the expansion stage. Total money losses come to two billion rubles [R]. But even money is not the main trouble. Our economy needs an extra 109 million kilowatts of energy. So you cannot help thinking: In freezing nuclear power engineering will we not freeze ourselves in the next winter?

Let's take another attentive look at the party congress resolution. "Under the conditions of the administrative-edict system," it says, "the country's former leadership allowed major blunders in the elaboration of scientific and technical policy in the field of nuclear power and the protection of the population in extreme conditions." An in-depth political diagnosis has been made. It is this diagnosis which makes it possible to set about treating what is frankly a protracted disease. The newly created USSR Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and Industry has already done quite a lot to eliminate blunders in the nuclear power engineering field.

But the technical aspect in this case is not even half the matter. The decisive factor here is the creation of an effective system for working with the population and public. And here matters are taking shape with difficulty for the department. Of course, we are not used to switching from an atmosphere of often unjustified secrecy to glasnost and openness. That is probably why the steps taken in this direction have so far failed to produce tangible results. Thus, back in 1988 an interdepartmental council for information and liaison with the public and its executive organ—the center for public information on nuclear power engineering—was formed. Regional public information centers were formed in Moscow, Leningrad, Gorkiy, Sverdlovsk, Kharkov, Murmansk, and Kiev. Mobile thematic exhibits were organized at "hot" spots, the publication of an information bulletin was set up, and scientific and practical conferences and "roundtables" are held with Soviet and foreign specialists being invited.

Alas, the yield from them has been small. A very great distrust in any assurances has accumulated in society, and many people are more eager to heed strong expressions against nuclear energy than scientific computations. Moreover, picketing has been organized recently near a number of AES's which is markedly complicating the work of the servicing personnel and is consequently fraught with the possibility of accidents.

I think that in this increasingly heated atmosphere the only correct decision was taken—to continue seeking ways of mutual understanding with the public. And at the Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and Industry there was an expanded aktiv of representatives of the labor collectives, enterprises, and organizations of atomic power engineering and industry. Representatives of the Defense Ministry, Ministry of Power and Electrification, Ministry of Health, Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and the Atomic Power Industry, the State Committee for Hydrometeorology, the State Committee for Education, the State Committee for the Protection of the Environment, the State Committee for the Press, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Planning Committee, the "Chernobyl" society, and journalists were invited to it. And, which is very important, representatives of the public and opponents of nuclear power came there.

Minister V. Konovalov and V. Terentyev, director of the Central Scientific Research Institute for Information and Technical and Economic Research on Nuclear Science and Technology, delivered reports. They spoke of the problems of developing nuclear power in the USSR and increasing the effectiveness of work with the public. There was a long—lasting almost all day—and difficult search for a common language. It cannot be said right now that it has already been elaborated. But I want to hope that the sides have started to understand each other better. At any rate a number of constructive proposals were found. They were expressed in the appeal to the country's president and to the supreme soviets and governments of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics. The main ones are to accelerate the adoption of a power program for the country, to determine the place of nuclear power in it, and also to establish its legal status through legislation.

I think that in a rule-of-law state that is precisely how the most complex, the most burning problems should be resolved.

Defense Plant Switches to Linoleum Production

PM1907140790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Report by L. Salnikov and G. Nechayev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Newscaster] Conversion nowadays unfortunately spells more problems than advantages. Nonetheless, the Biysk Chemical Combine has recently started up production of top-quality linoleum—an article which is very much in short supply—precisely within the framework of conversion.

[Correspondent] It is a pleasure to note that this modern, reliable production line for the manufacture of linoleum, which is in no way inferior to foreign products, is Soviet-made. It was designed by the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Polymer Construction Materials, the Izhevsk machine building plant built it, and the Biysk Chemical Combine assembled and started it up within a very short period—two and a half months. This, in my opinion, is a good example of cooperation in the conversion process since both the Izhevsk and Biysk enterprises come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Defense Industry.

It is true that another enterprise of the selfsame ministry which is also involved in the production of linoleum is not yet up to the mark, as you will see from our interview.

[A.I. Osin, combine deputy chief engineer] The first batch of improved-quality linoleum is being dispatched from the combine today. We are ready to start up series production of this linoleum. However, because we have not received the backing sheet from the Leninabad Zarya Vostoka Plant, we cannot start up series production. We therefore appeal to our colleagues at the Zarya Vostoka Plant to start up production of backing sheet as soon as possible so as to enable us to ensure production at the planned volume—3 million square meters.

[Correspondent] This request is more than urgent. After all, it will determine what our apartments look like in the near future. So far you can see only one color scheme, but dozens of new original color schemes will be added soon. Incidentally the linoleum is not expensive—five to six rubles per square meter.

Equipment Renewal Makes Phoning Abroad Difficult

PM1907152390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by V. Vladin: "Communications With Outside World Temporarily Curtailed"]

[Text] Phone links with foreign countries have been extremely difficult for three days now. Even previously they left something to be desired. Now life has gotten harder for those who use direct-dialing to foreign countries—central newspaper editorial offices and ministries. This is an unprecedented situation. On the morning of 18 July the IZVESTIYA Stenography Department was unable to contact any of the newspaper's own foreign correspondents.

We tried to clarify the situation by contacting workers at the international telephone exchange.

[Konstantin Baranov, chief of the operations and technical equipment sector] Yes, it is currently impossible to direct-dial foreign countries. We are changing the addressing system of the units [adresatsiya komplektov] and are working to change over our equipment. This is associated with the preparations for the commissioning of the second international exchange. We want to normalize the situation as quickly as possible. When? Perhaps by the end of today....

[Svetlana Kravtsova, chief of the exchange] The exchange itself is working. It was working yesterday and the day before that too. We are accepting orders on lines 8.194 and 8.196. You have problems? Who doesn't in this country? If IZVESTIYA's direct-dial facility is impaired it can order a call by fax without notification on a priority basis. That is already a privilege. Others do not have that opportunity open to them. We are trying to change the situation. We are commissioning a second exchange. But even this will hardly help to meet all the requirements for telephone links with foreign countries. We need to build a third exchange.

Ore Plant Develops Waste Retrieval Program

LD1807202690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A new complex for the exploitation of apatite ore is proposed at the Apatit production association.

[Correspondent V. Anuchin] Sixty million tons of ore are extracted annually by production associations. Of these, the Apatit workers—the country's biggest—extracts 20 million tons of concentrate which goes to the country's furnaces. After processing, another 38 million tons annually are left as waste, or so-called residue. That adds up to many millions of tons.

Can it bu utilized? Of course. That way the country will receive valuable raw materials—alumina, potash, soda, and cement. And these residues and raw materials are to be found not only in the cities of Kirovsk and Apatity but also on the remote peninsulas of Lake Imandra [Murmansk oblast].

So for he association to do nothing is out of the question. The association's central laboratory has devised a new technological program to obtain alumina, potash, soda, cement, and possibly valuable magnetites and concentrates from apatite ore. But further work is needed, and the most important thing is to obtain capital investment from the government. Undoubtedly, the association will succeed in this.

[A.V. Pozdnyakov, general director of the association] The technology exists but it requires much work. Great quantities of cement are obtained as a side-product. In addition, it is possible to create another one million tons in the oblast.

Thus, development of the technology is taking place at scientific research organizations, including studies at our center. The exploitation of waste products—apart from cement—is scheduled to start in 1991-92.

Agricultural

Government Writes Off R70 Billion in Debts

LD1907193590 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The Soviet Government has decided to annul the debts of the agricultural cooperatives, state farms, and other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex to state banks.

About 70 billion rubles are to be written off. The debt is a result of unbalanced prices, low prices of farm produce, and high prices of farm equipment.

The public has applauded the decision as an act restoring social justice to the farmers.

Statistics Show Drop in Bread Grain Harvest

LD1907211790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The USSR State Statistics Committee [Goskomstat] reports that bread grain on the country's fields has been cut on an area of 13.5 million hectares and threshed on over 11 million hectares. This is somewhat less than a year ago. The unstable weather is proving a hindrance.

Scientific

Further Coverage of Attempt To Repair 'Soyuz'

Insulation Undamaged

PM1907112790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Jul 90

[Direct relay from flight control center by Petr Orlov and Sergey Slipchenko; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] We now go over to the flight control center from where our correspondent Sergey Slipchenko reports:

[Petr Orlov] Correspondents Sergey Slipchenko and Petr Orlov report from the flight control center: The cosmonauts have been working in space for four hours, 10 minutes, and 57 seconds. They have just over an hour's work left according to the timetable. They have already ascertained the causes of the damage to the vacuum-shield thermal insulation which has caused such a stir throughout the world. The existence of the spacecraft and the expedition's continued stay in space were even questioned. There was indeed one cause for alarm. These were the fire-bolts [piropatrony] which serve to separate the descent module and the instrument module. The cosmonauts have established, and experts agree with them, that all is well. The fire-bolts are expected to function normally. Their insulation has not been damaged. At present, judging by communication sessions with the earth, the cosmonauts are rolling back the insulation which has become detached from the spacecraft—as I have already shown in an earlier newscast today. They are rolling it back so that it does not hamper further operations connected with dynamics. This is what it will look like when they have finished their space walk, which will end in less than 90 minutes.

I am now handing over to my colleague Sergey Slipchenko who is standing next to the flight director.

[Sergey Slipchenko] I am now in the inner sanctum of the flight control center, where all the specialists are gathered together with Flight Director V.A. Solovyev. [correspondent turns to the flight director] I would like to ask you a question. We only have 30 seconds for the "Vremya" newscast. The situation which has developed—is it dangerous for the landing or is it not? Will it affect the normal descent of the cosmonauts?

[Solovyev] Judging by the results of the space walk, although it is not finished yet we can say fairly unequivocally that it will in no way affect the landing of the cosmonauts which will take place 9 August in accordance with the normal schedule.

[Slipchenko] The cosmonauts were lagging behind the timetable for various operations. Have they now caught up? Or is there still a threat of delays.

[Solovyev] Well, a space walk is a relatively complex and difficult procedure, a safety margin is built in, but sometimes time is pressing. It is difficult to forecast. However, the space walk is taking place according to the preset schedule. The guys have been out in the open space for four hours and 13 minutes. I believe that in about half an hour or so we will tell them to get back.

Update on Cosmonauts' Problems

PM2007082390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Report by Petr Orlov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is a report from the flight control center.

[Correspondent] As is often the case, the most unexpected thing happened when a successful end to the operation seemed within sight.

You will recall that yesterday during the "Vremya" newscast it was promised that the cosmonauts would be back in the station by 1000 hours. This was not to be.

Having fastened the thermal insulation, that is, having performed their task, Anatoliy Solovyev and Alexandr Balandin turned homeward, pressed for time, it is true. They tied down the tools and set off. But they must have slightly lost their way. Now they are already joking about it.

[Cosmonaut; video shows cosmonauts in spacecraft] There are many ropes and handrails, what we need is street signs.

[Correspondent] These are pictures taken late last night. When people at the flight control center gather around one panel, it means that something is happening. And it was. The cosmonauts entered the station but were unable to close the hatch. Meanwhile the space suit oxygen was running out. Were the crew's lives in danger? Yes, they were. Instead of the scheduled six hours they had spent seven hours in the space suits. It was impossible to take further risks. They had to move on to another compartment, a hermetically sealed compartment. Nothing like this has ever happened before. The station's exit hatch is still open and in one of the compartments of the "Mir" space station there is space vacuum now. However the station, like a ship, is divided by partitions behind which it is possible to hide. Today, it no longer seems so terrible.

[Voice from flight control center] How do you feel about the open door? Isn't there a chair floating about?

[Cosmonaut; video shows cosmonauts inside spacecraft] The seat is safely fastened. Yes the garage door is open, but no one is likely to walk in.

[Correspondent] Today, following an analysis, the main danger seems to lie elsewhere. The tools left in space may hamper further work. Judging by appearances, the time frame of the expedition will not be altered. But it seems that for the time being the station's main docking unit can only perform undocking. If this is really the case, it seems that another space walk by this crew will be necessary to improve the situation. This question is now being discussed at the Flight Control Center and a decision seems likely within the next few days.

Replacement Crews Readied

LD1907115590 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The main and standby crews of Soviet cosmonauts have left the town of Zvezdnyy for the Baykonur cosmodrome to get ready to fly to the "Mir" orbital complex. The launch is scheduled for 1st August. The new crew will replace Anatoliy Solovyev and Alexandr Balandin who are completing their mission, marked by complicated experiments and dramatic situations. The day before, the cosmonauts walked into raw space to repair the thermal insulation of their transport craft. Yet upon their returning to the station they failed to close tightly the hatch of the airlock of the "Mir" station and will have (?to) take another space walk to do so.

Crew To Space Walk 26 Jul

LD1907163390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Report by Leonid Lazarevich]

[Summary] The "Mir" spacecraft crew members are to make a second spacewalk on 26 July. The air lock compartment of the equipment module remained unsealed when the cosmonauts were unable to shut the exit hatch after their spacewalk two days ago. A special working group has been studying the problem almost constantly since then.

"There is no final conclusion on what happened. The situation is being analysed as before. But the working group has made a decision that on the 26th the crew will evidently go out into open space. They will again attempt to open and shut the door and will then go through, take away the ladder on which they were working before and which they left behind, and return."

I have just spoken with the crew. "I can't tell you that they were very happy, but they are full of optimism."

Cosmonauts Continue Experiments

LD2007092890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Cosmonauts Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin are spending their 160th day in near-earth orbit. Experiments in several scientific areas are continuing on board the "Mir" research complex. Experiments in the two space orangeries are continuing, and several sequences of research using the magnetic spectrometer Mariya and the astrophysical spectrometers Buket and Granat have been carried out. A trial space smelt has been carried out. According to the schedules for medical checks, the commander and flight engineer will today undergo regular medical investigation while carrying out physical exercises on the veloergometer. The flight of the crew of the sixth main crew on the "Mir" station is continuing. Both cosmonauts feel well.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0330 GMT on 20 July reports: "The marina gamma telescope, made in Georgia, and intended for astrophysical research, has started operating in the "Kristall" module on the "Mir" research complex. Marina will help scientists to research into neutron stars, black holes, pulsars, and other astronomical features."]

'Cosmos-2085' Satellite Launched 19 Jul

LD2007073290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jul (TASS)—"Cosmos-2085," another artificial earth satellite, was launched in the Soviet Union on Thursday using the "Proton" launcher.

The satellite is carrying apparatus designed to relay telegraph and telephone information on centimeter wave lengths.

The satellite has been placed in near stationary orbit with the following parameters:

—distance from the earth's surface: 35,889 km;
—inclination to the equatorial plane: 1.4 degrees;
—period of revolution: 24 hours and one minute;

As well as relay apparatus the satellite is carrying:
—A radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements;
—A radiotelemetric system for transmitting data on the work of the onboard apparatus to earth.

The apparatus on board the satellite is working normally.

A coordinating and computing center is processing incoming information.

Plutonium Reactor's Shutdown Threatens Layoffs

PM1807133790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 17 Jul 90

[Report by S. Sergeyev and Yu. Trofimov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] At a major defense industry enterprise in Chelyabinsk Oblast a reactor for producing weapons-grade plutonium has been shut down. Our correspondent Sergey Sergeyev reports from the scene of events:

[Correspondent] This enterprise—the Mayak Production Association—was established in the southern Urals 40 years ago. All its installations are carefully guarded and until recently they were top secret. However, the favorable development of Soviet-U.S. relations and the bilateral nuclear arms reduction program have made the event which we are attending possible.

In a few minutes' time a reactor which has been producing weapons-grade plutonium for many years will be shut down. This is plutonium which was used in the manufacture of nuclear charges for bombs and missiles. [video shows interior of plant]

And so the reactor has been shut down, what will your personnel do now?

[V.I. Sadovnikov, director of the reactor plant] Shutting down a reactor is not an instantaneous operation, you do not just throw a switch. The cover has been dismantled and personnel will now carry out neutron and physical measurements throughout the active zone in accordance with a special program as well as other measurements on the metal structures and individual sections of the reactor. [video shows staff at work] Then the reactor will be completely unloaded, and the fuel will be stored and replaced by technological pipes for the subsequent installation of a system of sensors in the reactor which will be monitored.

Personnel will carry out this monitoring for some five years, and when this period expires we will proceed with the mothballing of the reactor.

[Correspondent] What will happen to your staff laid off as a result of the conversion of military production.

[Sadovnikov] The fate of these people is a great worry. Unfortunately, despite our having raised more than once the question of drafting a law or a resolution on conversion, this has not yet been done.

Our powerful scientific and technical potential and our traditional cadre training school are suddenly of no use to society today, although the situation may change sharply tomorrow. Therefore we are having to find our own, local solution. We are developing radiation technologies, but they will provide jobs for only some 20 percent of our personnel. The fate of the others is uncertain.

New Acoustic Research Ship Employs Sail Power

PM1907132990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2038 GMT 16 Jul 90

[Report by Stanislav Chekalin from the "Television News Service"]

[Text] [Announcer] Over to our correspondent in Kaliningrad. His report is devoted to a new scientific research supership Akademik Ioffe.

[Chekalin] This is an environment-friendly ship, I would even describe it as ecologically sterile. For the first time we see sails on a ship of this kind. You can see them going up. Naturally, these are not the kind of sails to which we are used to. These are modern electronic sails. Nonetheless, they make it possible for the ship to switch off the engines in the open ocean and to operate entirely without polluting the atmosphere. Apart from that, silence is needed in acoustic research.

[O.N. Knyazev, captain's mate] We have carried out acoustic research in the northeastern part of the Atlantic. We studied seabed sediments and how sound travels through layers of water and tried to use acoustic methods in prospecting for minerals. A great deal of information was gathered.

[Chekalin] Strange though it may seem, outer space is probably better explored than the world's oceans whose floors contain a substantial part of our mineral resources.

Helicopter Drives Mooring Piles in Vladivostok

OW2007020890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 16 Jul 90

[Report by O. Padenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A new, unique method of driving piles into the sea floor has been tested by research specialists from Vladivostok.

A ship cannot approach this bay on the shore of Amurskiy Gulf, especially a heavy floating pile driver. It is too shallow, but mooring walls need to be built here. Vladivostok's Akademgorodok [Academic Town] is developing. It cannot do without mooring piers. [video shows Mi-8 helicopter hovering above water]

This is how it was decided to drive the piles into the sea floor—with the aid of helicopters. The cargo was attached to their winches. The helicopters gained altitude and dropped the piles with the sharp end facing downwards in spots marked by signal buoys. You have to agree that this is not a simple matter. As you can see it is not difficult to lift the piles, but hovering above the proper point so that the gigantic steel pipe sinks exactly into its predetermined spot is a job requiring meticulous skills and mastery.

Scientists of the merchant fleet, construction designers, and of course civil aviation pilots from Vladivostok conducted extensive preparations so that this unusual experiment would be a success. On the first try, unfortunately, not all of the piles settled on the bottom as they should have. The Mi-8 is the only helicopter which can handle such a difficult task. But one conclusion was drawn; after some revisions and the development of improved lifting devices, this new method can be put boldly into practice.

Indeed, if there were any doubts they were overcome by the results. This method turned out to be much less expensive than those used previously. It eliminates the need for moving cumbersome equipment over great distances, for building approaches, and for preparing assembly sites. At the same time the authors of this idea say that this construction method can be used not only in shallow waters but in remote areas of the tayga as well by geologists, lumbering establishments, and LEP [electric power transmission line] builders; in strengthening dams during floods; and in preventing mud slides. In fact this new job for the helicopter has a bright future.

Military

Text of Interview With General Shlyaga

PM1907150190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Colonel General N. Shlyaga, newly appointed chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, by correspondent V. Litovkin; date and place not given; under the rubric "Appointments": "Chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Colonel General N. Shlyaga has been appointed chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Our correspondent talked to him.

[Litovkin] Nikolay Ivanovich, could you tell us a little about yourself please.

[Shlyaga] I was born in 1935 in Belorussia's Polesye region in Gomel Oblast. Our district has been particularly hard hit by the Chernobyl disaster. My brother lives with his family in Mozyr. My heart goes out to them.

I have been in the Army since 1954. I graduated from military motor vehicle school. I became a platoon commander and was then elected secretary of the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] organization. I became a political worker. I think my feet have touched every rung on the service ladder. I did some more studying. I worked in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and then returned to the forces again to work in the political field....

What else? I am married with two daughters. I have a grandson who is just over a year old.

[Litovkin] You have been appointed chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate at a time when society is calling increasingly loudly for the depoliticization of the Army. What do you think about this?

[Shlyaga] Only that the idea of depoliticizing the Army, the Internal Affairs Ministry, and the KGB is a figleaf intended to conceal the quite definite intentions of forces struggling for power in the country to repoliticize the Armed Forces and incline them in their favor. That is the first point.

Second, I believe that depoliticization per se is undemocratic. It alienates the large social group of servicemen from political activity and restricts their constitutional rights and freedoms.

Third, I think that the idea is simply immoral because it deprives military service and military labor to defend the motherland of their political meaning and lofty moral guidelines and deprives servicemen themselves of political responsibility to the state.

And another point. The demand for depoliticization is often reduced to the elimination of political organs. And whatever underpins this, it objectively leads to the curtailment of educational work with people, to a weakening of the military collective's moral potential, and consequently to a deterioration in combat readiness. No army in the world can allow that to happen.

[Litovkin] What will you say in a year or two's time when the decision to depoliticize the Army has been made anyway?

[Shlyaga] I am confident that will not happen. Our people are wise. They will decide what's what.

[Litovkin] Despite all that, Nikolay Ivanovich, political organs have recently come in for some strong criticism....

[Shlyaga] And we are paying close attention to that criticism. We are grateful for anything constructive, but if the criticism is unjust and offensive, well, never mind.... We have to try to avoid becoming emotional and extract the core of good sense—anything that can benefit our work.

Political organs are now in the process of perestroyka. The Main Political Directorate has developed a new concept for them. That is a requirement of the time and an integral part of military reform. We intend to demarcate the functions of party and political organs and give the latter the status of state organs. The serviceman, the individual must be the focus of attention together with his political, military, moral, and legal education and his social protection. Our sociological and psychological services, mass media, and cultural education institutions will start to work for his benefit....

Party organizations will become genuinely independent. They will create their own organizational structures, from unit party committees to an all-Army party committee.

We have formed working groups to draft the relevant documents. The proposals will be sent to the troops at the beginning of August. We will listen to what people and the public have to say and only then make a decision.

Incidentally, a new structural subdivision for ties with sociopolitical movements and organizations was organized in the Main Political Directorate literally yesterday. We will be working in close contact with them.

[Litovkin] By that do you mean that the Main Political Directorate is ready for the introduction of a multiparty system?

[Shlyaga] That is not what I said. The point is that we do not have a law on parties yet. And the CPSU remains the only real political force, the biggest and the best organized, that enjoys absolute authority in the Army.

In my view, a multiparty system cannot be introduced overnight by decree. Other parties must first prove their worth to people. Not by slogans bandied around at rallies but by real actions intended to benefit the country and the people.

Urgent Support Needed for Homecoming Troops

*PM2007085190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Article by V. Litovkin: "The Troop Trains Leave, the Problems Remain"]

[Text] In a 16 July discussion on the problem of the withdrawal of troops from East Europe the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions reached the conclusion that a state program is needed.

Our Army probably has no problem more acute than that of withdrawing troops from the East European countries and stationing and accommodating 123,000 servicemen and more than 100,000 members of officers' and warrant officers' families at home.

The problem is by no means a purely departmental one but a national one. It affects the interests of the peoples of Hungary and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the population of the regions where the troops are going. It is acute because it encounters the contradictions which are rife in society.

A group of USSR people's deputies, in conjunction with representatives of various ministries and departments, has spent 10 days visiting garrisons in the Moscow, Belorussian, Kiev, and Baltic Military Districts where units and subunits of our forces will be and already are going. They also visited the Central, Southern, Western, and Northern groups of forces; met with East European countries' parliamentarians and with the leadership of the republics and oblasts and commanders of groups and districts; and talked with officers, warrant officers, and members of their families. What did the analysis show?

The withdrawal of troops from Hungary and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic is being carried out strictly according to the schedule and timeframe laid down by intergovernmental agreements. Inducted personnel, soldiers, and sergeants have been or will be provided with everything they need for normal life and service. But the question of accommodating families in the new locations remains extremely serious, as we have written more than once.

Some 25,000 officers and warrant officers without quarters, 75,000 people in all, have to be provided with housing. The only accommodation is apartments in prefabricated panelboard buildings adapted as hostels and hotels, and also partly in vacant apartments in previously constructed blocks. Barracks, training buildings, and headquarters are also being converted into hostels. Construction of houses and hostels out of ferroconcrete structures started in the second quarter of this year for the permanent accommodation of families....

We have cited figures indicating the scale of construction in previous articles. Let us just say that the work is under way and is proceeding according to schedule, even ahead of schedule in some cases. But the worrying fact is that there is a constant lack of bricks, cement, ferroconcrete and timber structures, and other resources.

The point is that, in a country where everything is in short supply and where the decision to withdraw the troops was taken in February and March, new construction was not stipulated in the 1990 plan approved for the

Defense Ministry. The military were able to find 30 million rubles [R] by freezing a number of their quota of construction projects. They asked the USSR Council of Ministers for the remaining 70 million. The decision was not taken until 16 June. And when capital investment quotas for the Defense Ministry are being cut and the ministry lacks its own construction capacities, there is no possibility of the military's carrying out by itself the task of accommodating the troops and officers and warrant officers' families who are being withdrawn from abroad. This was the leitmotiv of all the speeches at the committee.

Many of the USSR people's deputies pointed out that the USSR State Planning Committee has still not assigned quotas to the military construction workers for next year and is dragging its feet in tackling the question of transferring to the Defense Ministry budget 15 military construction detachments engaged in the national economy which have yet to be moved to new places and have not yet started work....

What is the solution? It was proposed in a USSR Supreme Soviet draft decision. It is essentially a matter of recognizing the problem of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the East European countries as a national task and adopting a special state program to accomplish it and to provide accommodation for the people. And not in the distant future but at the very next session. It was proposed that standing government commissions should be set up in the groups of forces to sell Soviet property and that the money should be transferred to the Defense Ministry for housing construction. A long-term targeted program should also be adopted to provide social amenities for servicemen and members of their families, and a number of other tasks is to be tackled. The same garrisons are to be toured again in the fall to check whether the USSR Supreme Soviet decision is being implemented.

One of the speakers at the committee sitting called the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia a dress rehearsal for the solution of other, bigger problems which we will be encountering very soon when the Vienna talks on the reduction of forces and armaments in Europe are over. That is true.

Kiev Commander Gromov Cited on Military Reform

PM1907124590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jul 90 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed interview with Colonel General B. Gromov, commander of the Kiev Military District; place and date not given; under the rubric "Military Reform: Express-Survey": "Three Questions for the Commander"]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] 1. Has anything changed in the life and activity of the troops in your charge in connection with the military reform?

[Gromov] I don't think that it would be totally correct to speak of any significant changes brought about by the reform now. After all, there is no integral concept of the reform as yet. The current changes have been occasioned not by the reform but by the transformations taking place in the Army and Navy in connection with the implementation of the principles of the defensive doctrine, the cuts in the Armed Forces, and the introduction of definite democratic processes. All this can of course be seen as fragments of military reform, as certain steps to prepare for reform in general.

What is happening in the district? Some formations have been disbanded, new structures are being introduced such as arms and equipment storage bases, and the establishment is changing. Priority has been given to defensive subjects in combat training.

There are now more problems. There are very many unresolved questions in the social and everyday sphere: Approximately 20,000 servicemen's families are without apartments, young officers are in a difficult material position since prices are constantly rising, and more than 1,000 officers are "supernumerary"—neither they nor we are completely clear on their future. Although a great deal of work is being done to prepare to receive units from groups of forces, these problems will worsen still further with their arrival. What is more, young recruits require not merely greater attention but considerable efforts to neutralize the consequences of the anti-Army syndrome being fostered in draftees' minds.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] 2. In your view, what should be the final aim of the reform of the Armed Forces?

[Gromov] Our military potential must be brought into line with the state's economic potential and foreign policy aims as a result of the reform. Within the framework of this task there must also be substantial changes within the Armed Forces themselves. The professionalization of the Army and Navy is the main direction of the changes. I do not as yet want to talk about the change in staffing principles, but the level of professionalization must increase. We must have Armed Forces of a new quality.

The creation of an effective system of social guarantees and social protection for servicemen is another avenue. The third is the democratization of the entire military organization.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] 3. In your opinion, what are the main obstacles to the profound transformations in the Army and Navy necessitated by the time?

[Gromov] Perhaps, the first is indecisiveness in effecting the transformations. The need for military reform has been obvious for a long time now. A very sharp debate about it is under way now. These debates by no means always have a firm scientific basis or clear calculation of everything that has to be done. They excite public opinion. The Army is often presented as a conservative force striving to keep everything as it is. But that is not the case.

No one is more interested than the military in radical changes in the Armed Forces. It is more painful for us than for anyone to see how many problems within the Army now remain unsolved, and it would be considerably easier for us to engage in combat training alone, in our own job alone. But any transformations, even the destruction of stockpiled weapons, require considerable expenditure. That is why the problems of military reform must be translated more rapidly from the level of discussion into the language of lawmaking.

The second obstacle is, incidentally, lack of the proper legal base for the necessary radical changes. This base can only take shape after the USSR Supreme Soviet has discussed the projected military reform. The supreme legislative body must examine and carefully consider all the proposed changes in the Armed Forces and tell the Army what kind of Army we need and what must be done to achieve this.

29 MiG-29's Offered for Sale to Switzerland

LD1907151190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1249 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Geneva, July 19 (TANJUG)—The Soviet Union has offered to sell some twenty MiG-29 planes, stationed in the German Democratic Republic, to Switzerland, the weekly HEBDO says today.

This is the first such Soviet offer to a Western country and the Bern Government expects Moscow to announce the price.

Last autumn Switzerland decided to buy some U.S. FA-18 fighter planes. However, due to some unresolved technical questions regarding the planes' armament and the conditions of sale, the deal has been postponed.

Baltic Republics

Reportage on Lithuanian, Moscow Negotiations

Prunskiene Leaves for Moscow

LD2007093390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Early this morning Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene and deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the republic of Lithuania, chairman of the commission for political, juridical, and diplomatic preparations for the negotiations with the Soviet Union, Bronislovas Kuzmickas, left for Moscow for preliminary consultations about negotiations with the Soviet Union.

At present they both are already in the Kremlin.

Landsbergis Not To Participate

LD1907220190 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Speaking to representatives of the political parties and public organizations, Kazimiera Prunskiene stated inter alia that she was today unsuccessful in persuading Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis to take part in the next meeting of the Soviet Union Presidential and Federation Councils. Afterward a meeting of President Mikhail Gorbachev and Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov with the leaders of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia has to take place. Vytautas Landsbergis' motives for refusing are not known, although when striving for the beginning of a dialogue with the Kremlin he did take part in a meeting of the Soviet Union's Federation Council and later in a meeting of the Soviet Union's leaders with the leaders of the Baltic states. Such meetings took place on 12 June. [passage omitted]

Landsbergis Cited on Talks

LD2007091990 Vatican City International Service in Lithuanian 0330 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Landsbergis, in an interview with the INTERFAX agency, said that Lithuania's negotiations with Moscow would probably start this fall. Our negotiations with Moscow, Landsbergis noted, can begin only after the Supreme Council assembles following the summer recess. It will adjourn on 1 August. Apart from that, the commission of political, juridical and diplomatic preparation for negotiations must form working groups, which will include representatives of the Supreme Council and the government. Landsbergis noted that an official Lithuanian delegation for negotiations with the Soviet Union has not yet been formed. He noted that the negotiations would start only when the Soviet Union's delegation is authorized to sign a protocol with Lithuania defining the conditions and aims of the negotiations.

Representatives of the Lithuanian government, including Foreign Minister Saudargas, have recently stressed repeatedly that Lithuania would demand that the Soviet Union recognizes Lithuania's independence in a protocol before any negotiations, and thus confirms that these would be interstate negotiations.

More on Commission Meeting

LD1907161990 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The independent news agency INTERFAX reports that the Lithuanian parliament's commission in charge of political, judicial and diplomatic preparations for talks with the USSR has held its first session in Vilnius. It considered the government's suggestion on setting up expert groups to draw up a list of conditions for negotiations on various issues, including human rights, armed forces status, and political and diplomatic relations. The next session is scheduled for Friday.

Lithuania's Brazauskas Leaves for U.S. 20 Jul

LD1907221590 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Lithuania's Vice Premier Algirdas Brazauskas is leaving Moscow tomorrow morning by air for the United States. The aim of his visit is to continue the development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation with that country's banks and firms, such as [names indistinct], Chicago National Bank, and others. Algirdas Brazauskas is accompanied by Raimondas Rajackas, vice president of the Academy of Sciences, and an academician economist.

According to the latest opinion poll, Algirdas Brazauskas, vice premier and leader of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party is the second most popular politician in Lithuania. This will be his first visit to North America and, as far as is known, he will attempt to meet U.S. statesmen.

Before his departure from Vilnius, Algirdas Brazauskas told Lithuanian radio that he was invited to the United States by a Lithuanian chemical industry businessman, Vitas (Well). Algirdas Brazauskas also stressed that there is no serious coordination and information center in North America for the development of economic relations with Lithuania. In his opinion, such a center could be set up in Chicago.

Vilnius Radio Carries 19 Jul Council Session

Agenda Outlined

LD1907133190

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuuanian at 0640 GMT on 19 July became monitorable while carrying a live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

Deputies are discussing the draft law on the appointment of prosecutors and lawyers, their legal rights and obligations.

At 0705 GMT the draft law on the republic prosecutor's office is brought up for discussion. The draft law envisages that a prosecutor's protest can be taken to a court of law and that court will decide if the protest is well-founded. This will ensure wider democratization of the courts of law and the work of the prosecutor's office.

At 0730 GMT the session adjourns until 0800 GMT.

At 0800 GMT the session resumes. Deputy Vagnoris presents the draft enterprise law. At 0844 GMT the draft law on cultural inheritance is presented. At 0905 GMT Deputy Abisalas presents the entire schedule and agenda for upcoming plenary sessions until 31 July. Items on the agenda include: the improving of living standards for retired people in Lithuania; the law on the composition of the republic budget; the draft republic economic program; the law on state enterprises; the law on joint ventures; the law on prices; the law on taxation; the law on insurance; and the law on the taxation of private income.

Several deputies propose including other items on the agenda. Primarily, they would like to know why the state purchase price for this year's grain was increased to 72 percent when the price increase in the Soviet Union and allegedly in Latvia was 100 percent. The deputies argue that if the grain purchase price is lower in Lithuania, people will inevitably smuggle their crops out of the republic where they can get a better price. It is decided to include this topic for discussion on the agenda during the government's question time.

At 0930 GMT the session adjourns until 1100 GMT.

Moscow Negotiations Discussed

LD1907141290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1100 GMT on 19 July continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

The session resumes to discuss the draft decision on negotiations with the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic (RSFSR). Debates are then held on procedural matters. It is decided that the government's hour will be held at 1300 GMT.

At 1135 GMT Vytautas Landsbergis, Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman, takes the floor to report on the draft decision on negotiations with the RSFSR. He says he regrets that the decision has not yet been adopted and that so much precious time has been wasted on fruitless discussion.

Landsbergis reads out the draft decision on negotiations with the RSFSR. Following this he stresses the need and importance for Lithuania to have this mutual agreement with Russia. He says that if Lithuania has Russia as a partner in economic and political cooperation, then embargoes like the one already imposed would have been impossible.

Landsbergis points out that a Latvian delegation is leaving for Moscow to start preliminary talks with the RSFSR. He then announces the parliamentary consultative commission of the republic of Lithuania which will carry out the preparatory work for negotiations with the RSFSR. Deputy Stankevicius is appointed head of the consultative commission.

At 1153 GMT Landsbergis concludes his report. Questions follow. A deputy asks how the envisaged cooperation agreement can be implemented because Lithuania has no borders with Russia and he is almost sure that Belorussia would be block the transit routes. He believes it would be best to include Belorussia in the negotiations.

Landsbergis says this approach would "mean running the negotiations altogether."

Another deputy objects saying that these agreements will later be viewed by the Kremlin as a new Soviet Union based on agreements between the republics but remaining a Union of Soviet republics. This, he says, would be totally unacceptable to Lithuania. He proposes that Latvia and Estonia join Lithuania in signing the agreement with the RSFSR.

Deputies debate this proposal. Some say that signing treaties and agreements as equal political partners with republics which remain in the composition of the Soviet Union will result in Lithuania loosing its aspired status as a completely independent state.

At 1223 GMT Landsbergis assesses the deputies remarks and proposals. He thinks that concern about the political implications of this agreement can not be dismissed as absolutely groundless. He does not, however, see any danger to the recognition of Lithuania's sovereignty. He says that if the West wanted to renounce the annexation of the Baltic states, they could have done so already. Therefore, the agreement with Russia on cooperation will not make any difference.

At 1131 GMT there is a vote on the draft decision on negotiations with the RSFSR: 84 for, three against. By a majority of votes the decision is provisionally approved.

At 1235 GMT there is a discussion on the proposed composition of Lithuania's consultative commission for preparations on negotiations with the RSFSR. The names of the commission members are read. By a majority vote the composition of the commission is approved.

At 1240 GMT a vote is taken on the entire decision—the negotiations and the commission's composition. By a majority of votes the decision is adopted.

The session adjourns until 1300 GMT.

Increase in Crime Viewed

LD1907161690

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1300 GMT on 19 July continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

Deputy Kruopas presents a report on problems the local governments have in functioning. He says that to ensure that they function properly, a supplemental law on local governments is needed. Deputies discusses his proposal. At 1330 GMT by a majority vote the decision to adopt a supplemental law on local government is adopted.

At 1335 GMT the deputies adopt the agenda for the rest of July as presented by Deputy Abisalas at 0905 GMT.

At 1341 GMT Minister of Agriculture P. Knasys answers deputies questions on the differences in grain prices in Lithuania and the Soviet Union, as well as the prices of other agricultural products and animal husbandry products.

At 1356 GMT M. Misiukonis, minister of the Interior, gives a report on crimes during the last six months. He notes that a lot of attention has been paid to the increase in the efficiency of the militia's work. He quotes statistic on the growth of crime in the republic. His reasons for this are increasing economic and social instability, a lack of goods in shops, and others. At 1421 GMT Misiukonis finishes his report. Deputies question him on the militia's work. Misiukonis notes the lack of equipment, staff shortage, and insufficient vehicles as the main hindrances to improved militia work.

At 1454 GMT a statement of the republic of Lithuania Supreme Council Presidium on the 50th anniversary of the annexation of Lithuania is read out to the deputies:

"Fifty years have elapsed the day after tomorrow since Lithuania, its society and nation, faced calamity and treason. The so-called people's Sejmas, called together by the secret services of the occupying foreign power under conditions of terror, deceived by the quisling local communist party, not possessing authorization from the electors for this purpose, voted allegedly voluntarily to join the USSR. This has resulted in the further self-aggrandizement of the Soviet departments and officials on Lithuanian territory with tragic consequences for the people, nature, and culture. The date 21 July remains in our memory as a day of wrong, shame, and calamity. It can be marked, if the citizens or offices wish, by flags with the ribbons of mourning. At the Supreme Council Palace and the tower of Gediminas Castle the flag will be at half mast."

The live relay ends at 1459 GMT.

Landsbergis Addresses 1 July Supreme Council

LD1907174190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1135 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Report delivered by Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis at Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed colleagues, deputies, we have already been holding debates on the preparations for the future negotiations with the Russian Federal Republic. We know that initiative has been shown both from the Russian Federation and from our side. Getting ready for these negotiations is already under way, as I reminded you last week, I think, on Friday.

Today, I think, you are in possession of a couple of documents which were handed to you the day before yesterday. We were short of time for this, although we were not short of time for pointless speeches and empty quarrels. Today at last we are taking up this issue, having lost a couple of days. Sometimes these two days can also mean a week, because, for example, if this question were examined before yesterday, then yesterday it could have been sent directly to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chairman. [passage indistinct]

3. [as heard] The sides will endeavor to maintain those economic and cultural ties which are useful, and to form new ties without interfering in each other's internal affairs, and will repudiate for all time any form of political and economic pressure.

4. The sides envisage unconditionally respecting and defending the citizens' political, social, economic, and national cultural rights. They will regard with sensitivity the freely expressed will of the people to change citizenship or place of residence.

No side can remain indifferent to the fate of its compatriots.

5. Striving to maintain direct and constant contacts, the sides state that they are ready to exchange embassies. Initially these embassies could exist at the governments of the two sides. Direct economic ties between enterprises and regions, which help to form qualitatively new relations of market and exchange, should be encouraged.

6. The sides stress that [passage indistinct]

7. The sides stress that it is essential to form groups of experts to prepare a draft agreement on mutual relations and cooperation, and other agreements. The experts will examine the aims of the negotiations, and the forms and conditions of conducting them. The draft initial agreement will be submitted for examination to the supreme bodies of state power of the two sides.

I wish to express my opinion that it is not essential to examine this text in detail. It is not an agreement. [passage omitted]

I think that for us it is very important to start this real process of meetings and negotiations with the Russian Federation—a process which now exists in documents. The Russian Federation is interested in it politically, too, I think, in strengthening its position in certain competitions with the Kremlin power. Of course, it is also interested from the economic point of view. The same applies to us. We should be especially interested in concluding with the Russian Federation, as a sovereign state, a direct agreement guaranteeing for us the supply of raw materials, and components essential for production processes. On our side, we would guarantee the supply of our products to the Russian Federation.

With such interest of both sides consolidated in an economic and trade agreement, a threat of transport or some other blockade against us would be reduced, because that would be a blow directly affecting both sides, and both sides would be compelled to neutralize that blow. Russia's potentials are hundreds of times greater than ours. At the same time, we would be more secure. This would also safeguard our initial positions in the intended negotiations with the Soviet Union which, perhaps, is gradually becoming a kind of central administration, a kind of conglomeration of offices, when former Union republics one after another proclaim their sovereignty and their rights to manage everything directly, including foreign contacts, the Army, currency, and so on. We are facing a very special process.

It may happen that the Russian Federation will be a more realistic partner in negotiations than the Soviet Union, or a more permanent and long-term partner. Therefore I think that it is very important for us to start this other process, both politically and economically. [passage omitted]

There is a proposal in the form of a Supreme Council decision to confirm a commission of 14 people, and instruct that commission to hold consultations with Russian Federation representatives, coordinate preparations for negotiations with Estonia and Latvia, and prepare recommendations on the working groups of experts. [passage omitted]. The commission's composition is proposed as follows: Ceslovas Stankevicius chairman; members—[words indistinct], Vilkas, Katkus, [words indistinct] Karvelis, Rasimavicius, Andriukiene, Slicyte, Prapiestis, Capaitis, Paulauskas, Glaveckas, and Uoka. [passage omitted].

Lithuania Approves Treaty Principles Document

LD1907191790 Moscow TASS in English 1907 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Vilnius July 19 TASS—The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet today discussed principles forming the basis of a treaty between Lithuania and the Russian Federation. The relevant document, drafted by representatives of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, was approved by Lithuanian MPs [members of parliament] without a single amendment.

The document says that the sides are ready to immediately begin talks, fully recognising the sovereignty of the sides, without any preliminary political conditions. Relationships will be regulated by concluding several equal treaties, including a general political treaty and separate treaties in trade, economic, financial, credit, scientific, technological, cultural, ecological and other fields.

It says, in particular, that the sides provide for strict compliance with and protection of the political, social, economic, national and cultural rights and interests of citizens. They express readiness to exchange representations for the purpose of establishing direct and permanent contacts. The need is stressed to form expert teams for drafting a treaty on relationship and cooperation, as well as for subsequent treaties.

"The draft basic treaty on relationship and cooperation will be submitted for discussion by the supreme bodies of state power of the sides," the document points out.

The deputies elected a commission to elaborate a draft of this treaty.

Lithuanian Parties Issue Appeal on Independence

LD1907204190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] We unanimously demand that a delegation representing Lithuania will, in the coming negotiations with the Soviet Union, consolidate the Lithuanian state's independence de facto and de jure. So says an appeal from republic of Lithuanian political parties and public organizations adopted today at a meeting of representatives of these movements held at the Zinija Society.

Social democrats, democrats, humanists, representatives of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, the Association of Nationalists, the 11 March Party, and other political parties and public organizations invited everyone to sign this mandate for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Lithuanian Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene, who took part in the meeting, told those present about the progress of preparations for negotiations with the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation, and the problems that have arisen. The meeting was attended and addressed by Vice Premier Romualdas Ozolas.

Lithuanian Pre-War Newspaper Revived

LD1807211390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1920 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Text] The first issue of the revived newspaper TRIMITAS [THE BUGLE] has been published. It is issued by the Lituanian Union of Riflemen. The publication continues the traditions of the magazine TRIMITAS which used to be published before the war. The first issue contains the regulations of the union and articles on the problems of history. There is also a literary page. The newspaper has a print run of 15,000 copies.

Report Released on Improving Lithuanian Economy

LD1807170390 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 17 Jul 90

[Text] The governmental commission on the economic situation in Lithuania held a meeting today at which data were released about the improving supplies of petrol and diesel fuel to Lithuanian enterprises and organizations. The Mazeikiai oil refinery has not yet reached its full production capacity but it is already turning out one type of petrol. Meanwhile the situation with lubricants is still pretty complex and only farming organizations are supplied with them.

The problem of sugar is also rather acute. The demand for sugar by the population and the food industries cannot be fully met. That is bound to result in lower production of berry and fruit preserves, tinned milk, confectioneries, and other foodstuffs.

The Lithuanian statistical department reports that after their forced stoppage during the economic blockade period another six industrial enterprises have renewed production. Among these are four sugar refineries, a socks and stockings factory, and a furniture plant. During the economic blockade, over 11,000 people in industry, construction, and transport were temporarily out of work, while in agriculture over 4,000 machine operators were forced to do odd jobs due to the shortage of fuel.

Since the formal lifting of the economic blockade, half of those temporarily unemployed have started working again. The overall decrease in the output of the Lithuanian industrial enterprises due to the economic blockade is estimated at more than R490 million, while the loss of profit in various branches of the economy amounts to nearly R113 million.

Lithuania Posts 72 Percent Grain Price Hike

LD1807162490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Summary] Ceslovas Jursenas, a spokesmen for the government, reported that a document of great significance, awaited by the farmers of the republic, was signed by Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene today.

This is a resolution about wholesale prices of grain of the 1990 harvesting year sold to the state.

The decision says that the aim of the price rise is to raise the incentives of Lithuanian farmers to sell more grain to the state. The overall price of grain has increased by 72 percent.

Official Views Crimes Against Soviet Soldiers

LD1807130790

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0830 GMT on 18 July carries a four-minute report presented by correspondent Valdas Vilunas on crime in Lithuania.

He reports that yet again another incident involving a Soviet serviceman took place in Kaunas yesterday, 17 July. In the early morning Likhin, an employee at the military unit, was fatally wounded in a fight with a group of unidentified young men. Another employee of the same military unit, Kurgayev, was seriously injured and taken to the hospital.

Y. Milevskiy, head of the Kaunas Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) Criminal Investigation Department, said in a telephone interview that several people who took part in the fight have been detained already.

During the interview Vilunas asked Milevskiy about the incident: "There was a group of young men ready to destroy monuments, to attack servicemen. There is other information coming from Kaunas about incidents involving Army officers. Is this a trend or was the crime committed by individual groups?"

Milevskiy: "We cannot compare the incident which took place yesterday on Juozpavicius Street with the events you have mentioned. This crime has no link, say, with the destruction of monuments. The destruction of monuments is more a political act rather than a criminal case."

Milevskiy denied that attacks on servicemen were carried out by one particular group of people in Kaunas. He said: "There are individual cases of crimes which have taken place before. However, we did not put much emphasis on them. The current political situation made us look at these incidents with greater attention."

Vilunas: "And yet these incidents before the negotiations [with Moscow] could have all sorts of negative implications."

Lithuania's Ozolas Discusses Polish Assistance

AU1907115890 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 13 Jul 90 pp 6, 7

[Interview with Romualdas Ozolas, deputy premier of "independent Lithuania," by Antoni Zambrowski; place and date not given: "You Have Helped...."]

[Text] [Zambrowski] You have held talks with the Polish Government. How do you view its attitude to the problems that Lithuania faces at the present time?

[Ozolas] Poland already is an independent country, Lithuania still has to wage its struggle for independence. That is why what is considered a radical position in Poland is deemed moderate and conservative in Lithuania. Poland should develop the democratic freedoms that it has gained in a sensible manner so as not endanger those freedoms by making rash moves. However, in waging our struggle, we have to take steps that may, because of their radicalism, scare people in an entirely different political situation. When we recover our freedom, we will be more cautious.

[Zambrowski] You talk about Poland being cautious on the Lithuanian independence issue, but we in Poland differ significantly in our views on this subject. It is the government that has adopted a cautious position, while Polish society is much more radical.

[Ozolas] That is quite natural. Public opinion should always be bolder than the government. We were in Greece before coming to Poland, and the situation there is similar.

[Zambrowski] What can we—ordinary people—do to help Lithuania in its struggle?

[Ozolas] In practical terms, nothing. The Lithuanians themselves can help Lithuania. No one can offer freedom to someone else. Freedom has to become a way of life.

[Zambrowski] Are we right to criticize our government for doing too little to help Lithuania?

[Ozolas] Yes, on the condition that such criticism concerns specific things, specific mistakes and omissions, which could have been avoided. That can happen, even when a government is pursuing a correct policy.

[Zambrowski] Is there a feeling in Lithuania that the Poles could do more to help?

[Ozolas] No. There is no feeling of being wronged or abandoned. We ourselves do not know what more you could do for us. When we needed assistance from you in the form of deliveries of gasoline, you helped.

[Zambrowski] Although that unfortunate tanker is still standing on the Polish-Lithuanian border?

[Ozolas] It is a symbol of our relations with the Soviet Union. The whole world can see what situation we are in.

[Zambrowski] What could we do to reduce the friction and the misunderstandings in your relations with the Poles in Lithuania?

[Ozolas] There are certain things that you could do. You should, above all, recognize that they are Poles living not in Poland, but in Lithuania. The Poles in Lithuania can choose between considering themselves to be citizens of Lithuania, citizens of Poland living in Lithuania, or citizens of the Soviet Union. We have resolved to observe democratic principles in Lithuania, including the right to emigrate. If Poles who do not want to adopt Lithuanian citizenship want to emigrate to Poland or the United States, we will not create any obstacles.

It is a question of a common understanding of democratic values. I say this because false leaders of the Poles in Lithuania, that is, people who come from the old nomenklatura, are trying to hold onto their status as leaders by confusing ordinary people and making it difficult for us to reach agreement with them and to include the Polish community in Lithuanian civic life.

Lithuanian-Israeli Relations Expanding

LD1907210790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1920 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Cultural and economic relations between Lithuania and Israel are being expanded. Today a lecture entitled Jews in Lithuania and in Israel was delivered by Josif (?Troupianskiy), a representative of the World Jewish organization. This event has been organized on the initiative of two cultural associations. Let us add that economic contacts with Israel are being established by Lithuania's enterprises, for instance, the Vilnius factory Audejas.

Minorities Lack Confidence in Estonian Government

LD1807183890 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 18 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn July 18 TASS—The Estonian Supreme Soviet and the government do not enjoy the confidence of national minorities living in this republic, according to a poll conducted in Kohtla-Jarve, a predominantly non-Estonian city in north-eastern Estonia.

Only seven per cent of non-Estonian respondants believe that the Supreme Soviet and the government are guided by the interests of all the people.

The results of the poll dealt a telling blow to two allegations made by the Estonian mass media. Firstly, the media claims that at least a third of the Russian speaking population fully support self-determination and restoration of Estonian statehood.

The media also claims that all opponents of statehood are die-hard advocates of economic management by decree and the party-bureaucratic diktat.

The last allegation was dashed by poll results which say that, in addition to their opposition to the republican leadership, the majority of respondants also criticised the activities of local city party and government bodies that oppose to the Estonian parliament and the government.

Estonian Pro-CPSU Party Leader Airs Views

90UN2323A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Jun 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Aleksandr Gusev, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, by G. Rozenshteyn; place and date not given: "'If There Are Situations Even More Difficult...'"]

[Text] [Gusev] Whether we like it or not, there are in Estonia today two communist parties. But they are operating under far from equal conditions. All the organizational structures and the entire apparatus are working for the independent Communist Party. Unfortunately, the several meetings with E.-A. Sillari, first secretary of the Central Committee of the independent Communist Party, have not alleviated this inequality. Sillari is categorically opposed to sharing finances, buildings, and so forth. But we are not all that upset.

[Rozenshteyn] Have you not studied the possibility of implementing the "Lithuanian option"?

[Gusev] No, the idea of seizing buildings by force does not appeal to us.

[Rozenshteyn] The less so in that you have buildings.

[Gusev] Yes, of course, the premises of the Kalininskiy and Morskiy Rayon Party Committees. We are not surrendering a single kopeck either to the Central Committee of the independent Estonian Communist Party or the CPSU Central Committee, all the money from party dues is remaining in the rayons. And the dues which the party organizations of Leninskiy and Kalininskiy Rayons are handing over we are transferring to our Central Committee account.

[Rozenshteyn] You are evidently speaking of the party organizations which share your position?

[Gusev] Yes. So we are not experiencing an acute shortage of finances. We will keep quiet until the 28th congress. Once the congress is over, then we will see. We are operating under difficult conditions, but, nonetheless, we are attempting to retain communists in the party. Meaning not the party which has been wrested from the people but a party of a new type. There are practically no professional party officials in our Central Committee.

[Rozenshteyn] But this is not entirely so.

[Gusev] Who? Panfilov, Israelyan. There are no other professionals. With us the party has in fact drawn closer to the people.

[Rozenshteyn] The Central Committee means republic dimensions. What does Gusev's party have outside of Tallinn?

[Gusev] There is a difficult situation in the rural areas. We decided to encompass at least the major cities of the republic. A party organization has been formed in Tartu, Pyarnu, and Valga. As you yourself understand, we do not need to interfere in the affairs of the northeast, everything is being resolved without us there. I am worried most by the fact that Tallinn and the northeast are operating under different conditions.

[Rozenshteyn] How is this difference expressed?

[Gusev] Things are calmer there. Those same Narva people can permit themselves the luxury of waiting, and their party organizations will not incur losses from this waiting. The Narva people have no depoliticization of the authorities, no pressure on communists in plants and establishments. We, having this "bouquet," cannot wait.

[Rozenshteyn] Are you prompted by fear of a mass exit from the party?

[Gusev] Not only that. The party is being purposefully pulled down. Remember M. Titma's words about his personal aspiration to pull this machine down to its supports. And T. Kork specially took the chair of first secretary of the rayon party committee to pull it down and quit. And he achieved his goal—there is practically no party organization in Rakvere, as in many rural areas.

[Rozenshteyn] Yesterday, at the plenum of the Central Committee of the independent Estonian Communist Party, I heard the speech of a secretary from Rakvere among the others.

[Gusev] But how many communists are there left in Rakvere? Yes, the party is being pulled down. But I believe that in time these two communist parties will unite. Whether in a year, two years, 10 years, I don't know.

[Rozenshteyn] Something that is hard to believe.

[Gusev] Although, of course, we are today pulling down the party with such enthusiasm that it could well be that there will be no one to unite....

I have never had bad words to say about Sillari, Malkovskiy, we do not criticize that part of the party in general. True, this could be, perhaps, because we have no vote and we are not published. But on the other hand, what a shower is being rained down on our heads! Take the question of the property which has been acquired by the party over many years. I do not understand how it is possible to come to my home and take away everything that my family has taken many years to acquire. So must the party also defend itself.

[Rozenshteyn] I cannot agree that this is the fairest and sole solution. We have recently learned of alternative possibilities also. And these examples are not only from the Baltic, what is more.

[Gusev] Sillari understands that were we to come to the Central Committee building, they would soon have to leave. Why? Because more communists are with us. Of course, the question of CPSU property is important. But it is not this that is troubling me. It is a question today of life and death for our party. I admit that there will be no CPSU as such. There will be Russian, Estonian, and Kazakh Communist Parties and so forth. Are the CPSU and the CPSU Central Committee then necessary?

[Rozenshteyn] The phrase "let us wait until the 28th congress" has become a kind of hide and seek. It conceals at times manifest inaction also....

[Gusev] I do not believe that matters of principle will be resolved at the 28th congress. It is important to preserve the structures because, once having lost them, they cannot be restored.

[Rozenshteyn] The formation of the Russian Communist Party is on all our lips currently. Are we not getting a new bureaucratic formation?

[Gusev] Russia needs a party, structures, and independence. We are constantly being accused of being against sovereignty. For heaven's sake! But we are against the way in which people want to achieve this. I would go via a Union treaty.

[Rozenshteyn] But, after all, the Baltics suggested to Gorbachev that he agree to such a treaty, but he did not want to hear.

[Gusev] I agree, this was so. But he was not ready at that time! Neither was the USSR, possibly. Now considerable numbers of Estonia's Russian-speaking population does not want separation. And if such a block does not want, it will prevent it by any means, even force. Consequently, this is not the way.

[Rozenshteyn] Even the most cursory analysis of the editor's mailbag shows that letters in support of Estonia's independence are still coming in. Consequently, pieces are falling away from the block....

[Gusev] I would be in no hurry to make forecasts. The handing over of the farmsteads, land, and homes to the former bourgeois owners is beginning. On his last day the secretary of the "Tallinnstroy" Party Committee was asked: "Is it true that your Pioneer Camp has been returned to the former owner of the estate?" It was, apparently. There is no now Pioneer Camp but six hectares of land with buildings. But the camp has ceased to exist.

[Rozenshteyn] If we are intending building a state based on the rule of law, such a step is correct, possibly?

[Gusev] I agree. But everyone measures reality against himself. One person suffers, a second, a third.... People are intimidated by such facts. And I believe that the process of restoring rights to the "formers" will repel people from the idea of Estonia's independence even more strongly. And take Nymme, where there are many private homes. A home will be returned to the former owner, but what will happen to the people who have lived there 30-40 years? Nor are the rural workers any better off—they would have to become casual farm laborers. So expecting mass support for the idea of Estonia's independence is unrealistic.

[Rozenshteyn] Yes, you have painted a cheerless picture. Many arguments "against" could be presented. I will dwell on just one. It is difficult to imagine that civilized countries—neighbors, and not only neighbors, the European and world community—would turn a blind eye as our community in Estonia is kept down in every possible way. Nor would Russia, it would seem, fail to stick up for its fellow countrymen.

[Gusev] I have faith. We are already too deeply into all this.

[Rozenshteyn] Let us return to party matters. How do you evaluate the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU" program?

[Gusev] The "DP" is a party for a party's sake. It sets neither national nor economic goals. If the democrats want anything, it is to democratize the party itself. I like the Marxist Platform in the CPSU. At the 28th congress there will be three platforms, and they, it seems to me (unless we find a compromise) will pull the congress and, consequently, the party also apart.

[Rozenshteyn] What is your attitude toward Yeltsin?

[Gusev] When his troubles began, I was categorically for him. Whether it was the cold jet of reports about his trip to America or his bathing in Moscow, I cooled toward him.

[Rozenshteyn] Perhaps the cool attitude toward Boris Nikolayevich is the result of his politics, which are not to your liking? His idea, say, concerning the conclusion of direct treaties between Russia and the Baltic republics?

[Gusev] Yes, our views do not entirely concur with his evaluation of the situation in the Baltic. It is easier, of course, to observe and argue from outside than to live here. Yesterday we were talking with deputies of the Moscow City Soviet. They heard us out, then said: "If you do not like it here, leave." And we said to them in reply: "And we will leave if the majority of the population tells us to."

Where will we go? Where are we expected? Of course, there are people to whom to return at home—no problem there. But those over 40 who have already lost their parents? I was born in the Caucasus and lived in Kuybyshev. I would go to Dagestan, but what kind of Dagestani am I? My father is an Armenian, my mother, a Ukrainian, where should I go? I am a proud man and do not wish to work as a janitor, but this is, after all, what ultimately awaits me. I do not believe that my Estonian rates an F. But if this were so, I could not be either a janitor or shoemaker and would be forced to fight.

Let us think it all out in full. What is guaranteed those who do not want separation? A mechanism is needed. We have already learned by bitter experience: A year ago in the republic there was talk of price increases and compensation. We have had the increases, but the compensation?

[Rozenshteyn] I will be plain: I consider the congress of your party which is opening today untimely. It will do nothing, I believe, other than deepen the split. And it could stir up Narva also.

[Gusev] But we have a different goal—showing the communists of our country, Estonia, that we exist and that we are alive and operating. As far as Narva is concerned, one-fourth of the Narva people who were delegates to the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress have today consented to take part in the congress. Kohtla-Jarve, Sillamyae—things are straightforward here.... But does it not seem strange to you that the Narva delegation is in a solitary position? Subsequently, when we assemble for the 21st congress, our "extremes" will say to the Narva people: "At the most difficult time you were not with us."

[Rozenshteyn] Please say through the newspaper what you yourself consider necessary.

[Gusev] It is a pity that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision on Estonia is secret and cannot be published.

[Rozenshteyn] I support this thought entirely. True, it would have to be published twice—there are quite a few corrections and alterations in the second version.

[Gusev] I would, nonetheless, like to comment on two points from the decision. Sillari's proposition is that if the people want separation from the CPSU, the Estonian Communist Party cannot go against this. I categorically disagree. Perhaps we need to explain and show to the people with what such a separation is fraught and to what it could lead? We should not move toward the precipice as a group but attempt to stop people and seek another way. According to Sillari, we are with the people to the end, even into the maelstrom.

Any republic should have the maximum degree of independence. As much as it is possible to be independent and sovereign in our world today.

[Rozenshteyn] I recall that earlier you emphasized that Estonia's sovereignty was practicable only within the framework of the USSR. Am I correct in my understanding that Gusev is no longer insisting on this?

[Gusev] There are two issues here. We will talk about separation only when a majority of inhabitants of the republic so desires. Preventing this would be pointless. Then the second stage would begin. It would be essential here to ensure that the sufferings of people in a breakaway Estonia be reduced to the minimum. That is, to fight for compensation, resettlement, and so forth.

[Rozenshteyn] And has your party done any work on these subjects?

[Gusev] A group of legal experts, which includes representatives of the three Baltic Communist Parties, has been formed. The group is drawing up a Union treaty. We will offer it to people, let them take a look at it and tell us whether it is any good. It is possible that we will draw up an acceptable document.

[Rozenshteyn] Both you and I realize, I believe, that there can be no going back to a Soviet Socialist Estonia?

[Gusev] It would seem not. Let it go, it is not ultimately a question of the name. The socialist thrust of the system and equal rights are far more important for us today. We need to work to ensure that the government of the republic is forced to agree to negotiations and accept our terms.

[Rozenshteyn] It is hardly such peremptoriness which is needed today. Incidentally, your attitude toward the events of 15 May in Toompea?

[Gusev] Simple: It was a provocation on the part of the government planned in advance.

[Rozenshteyn] And there were no acts of hooliganism?

[Gusev] There were, and I do not condone them. But the government should be above these offenders. When Nugis tells me: "It was not the people which assembled there but a mob," this, you will excuse me, simply will not wash.

[Rozenshteyn] Once again we are putting hooligans in the background....

[Gusev] I say once again: I do not condone hooliganism. But remember that when imputations have been made against a people and they have been insulted, it is really difficult to control them. It is for this reason that the government should always be on top of things and should not drive people to such a degree of ferment. If we have situations which are more difficult, will the government be able to cope?

[Rozenshteyn] Thank you for the interview.

More Details on Latvian Government Program

LD1907202590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The Latvian Supreme Soviet session is at work today. Council of Ministers Chairman Godmanis presented the parliamentarians with the government's program for the development of the national economy. It speaks in particular of the need to achieve the independence of all ministries and other Latvian institutions from the USSR and to ensure that they are maintained from the republican budget, of transferring to republican management the implementation of such very important functions as defense, the protection of borders, customs, state security, and foreign links.

In the government's opinion these are very important preliminary internal political conditions. As for ways of extricating the republic out of its economic crisis, it is envisaged in the next four to five years, using the resources of the republic's inhabitants and foreign private capital, to privatize 25-30 percent of the national wealth.

In order to create a balanced market in goods and services, the program envisages lifting restrictions in the process of price formation and also state control of the majority of wholesale and retail prices. It is also planned to change over to their own currency.

In addition to the program, the government presented for the session's examination another document, a draft treaty for interrelations between the USSR and Latvia. In accordance with this the USSR should recognize as invalid the USSR Supreme Soviet's act of 5 August 1940 on uniting Latvia with the USSR and in this connection recognize as impossible the application of Union law on the procedure for secession from the USSR.

The draft treaty envisages the liquidation of USSR Armed Forces military bases, the discharge of Latvian citizens from the Army, the transfer without compensation of Union property on the territory of the republic to Latvia, the return of historic cultural and material treasures removed in 1940 and subsequent years.

The parliamentarians have difficult work ahead of them before the recess planned for August. The program must be confirmed. As regards the treaty, for it to be concluded the agreement of a minimum of two sides is required. As yet no such proposals have come from Moscow.

Latvia's Godmanis, Jurkans Leave for U.S.

LD1907221290 Riga International Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] And today Chairman of the Council of Ministers Ivars Godmanis, together with the Foreign Affairs Minister of the republic of Latvia Janis Jurkans, left Moscow by air for the United States of America, where their meeting with Secretary of State James Baker and other official persons is envisaged. Before flying out, yesterday evening Ivars Godmanis had a meeting also with the USSR Foreign Affairs Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Latvia Discusses Draft Treaty with USSR

LD1907171390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia are today discussing in parliamentary commissions the government program for the development of the republic's national economy.

This program, as well as the draft treaty on mutual relations between the USSR and Latvia, drawn up by the Latvian side, were made public yesterday.

In particular, the draft envisages that the Soviet Union recognizes that the Latvian Republic possesses full authority on its own territory.

As for property on the territory of Latvia, according to the draft, over the course of a year, it is to be transferred, free of charge, to the ownership of the Latvian Republic.

At the same time, Latvia, on a mutual basis, renounces claims on its property which is on the territory of the USSR and which is Latvia's share in the total volume of the Union's property.

So far, however, proposals on talks have not been made on the part of the leadership of the USSR.

Latvian Government Introduces Customs Controls

PM1807154690 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jul 90 p 1

[Report by I. Kovalenko: "Check on the Roads: Latvia Has Introduced Customs Control on the Republic's Borders"]

[Text] A customs department has been established in Latvia. It proved difficult to find out its telephone number. Whoever I asked, many people admitted that they do not know, while others gave the telephone number of the Latvian Republican Customs Office. What is the reason for the emergence of yet another department?

"First, it was dictated by political motives in connection with the proclamation of Latvia's independence," A. Salins, director of the new customs department, says. "The second reason is purely economic. A vast quantity of goods of different kinds is being shipped out of Latvia. The range and volume of exports is simply terrifying. Dealers in the black economy are grabbing everything they can..."

Furthermore, the new customs officials believe, without the measures adopted it will be impossible to introduce a republican monetary unit, which, according to the plan, is supposed to become a stable and convertible currency. As for the Latvian Republican Customs Office, as an organ under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Union it will continue to fulfill its functions on the western border of the USSR. In future, when Latvia acquires true state independence, it is planned that the newly formed department will also assume control of the western borders.

Independent customs services have already been set up in Lithuania and Estonia. Apparently in the near future—as was the case, let us recall, with the introduction of rationing for food products and then visitors' permits—we can expect the appearance of similar services in other Union republics.

So the Latvian government has introduced from 1 July, for those engaged in business activity, temporary regulations governing imports to and exports from the republic of particular types of output. At the moment it is mainly a question of exports. The list includes the main types of food and nonfood goods, as well as manufacturing and technical output.

The export of goods for personal use is also restricted. For instance, it is permitted to take with you only R20 worth of food products, not more than one liter of alcohol, one package of each type of medical supplies, and other goods in consumer demand that are new and have not been used amounting to a sum of up to R200.

This is food for thought. You cannot get far with that quantity of products, still less can you go off for an "unofficial" vacation by a warm sea. Something else also causes concern. What course of action is to be taken in these conditions by enterprises and organizations which deliver their output outside Latvia under contracts and state orders to hundreds, even thousands, of consumers? Will the restrictions imposed provoke retaliatory action against deliveries of raw materials and components to the republic?

"I see no reason for such actions," A. Salins is confident. "Export controls will only strike at speculators and other dealers. And they will help to balance the domestic market and use natural resources more sensibly. The government document emphasizes the guaranteed fulfillment of contractual commitments with regard to all the USSR's Union republics."

Imports and exports will be regulated by the ministry of economics, which will issue one-time or longer-term special licenses. A duty of R50 will be exacted for issuing the licenses. But that will not apply to state orders or wholesale trade in consumer goods and material and technical resources if the main function of a specific institution is to ensure trade turnover. Those guilty of exporting products or providing services outside Latvia without a license will be fined five times the value. And in the event of the changing or annulment of a license its holder's losses will be compensated from the republic budget.

Gas Prohibition for State Vehicles Lifted

LD1907211290 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0429 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] And now a pleasant piece of news to state motor vehicle transport drivers. As a result of the Degviela association's efforts, the situation concerning gasoline supplies has slightly improved in our republic. An opportunity has arisen, Vladimir (?Kadikov), head of the association's department, said, to cancel, beginning on 19 July, the prohibition of filling all types of state motor vehicle transport which was imposed 10 days ago.

However, the gasoline filling does not remain as formerly—50 liters for trucks and 20 liters for cars. The filling regulations for private motor vehicles remain as before—against the coupons issued by local executive committees.

Latvians Protest Against Historic Organization

LD1807215790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 18 Jul (TASS)—The presidium of the town Soviet of People's Deputies in Daugavpils (eastern Latvia) protested against restoring the Ayzsargs, a paramilitary organization which supported the authoritarian regime in bourgeois Latvia in the thirties.

Its statement published in today's SOVETSKAYA LATVIA newspaper notes that the Ayzsargs's leadership intends to form three regiments, open a school for sergeants in Daugavpils, and hold a congress. "Town residents justly protest such plans and demand that the restoration of the activity of the anti-popular organization not be permitted," the document stresses. "The implementation of plans for the restoration of Ayzsargs sub-units will extremely aggravate the complex social and political situation in the republic and will install numerous residents of Latvia with fear for their lives." The presidium of the town soviet expects the republican Supreme Soviet and government to undertake "resolute actions against restoring an organization whose history is full of bloody and anti-popular acts." It stresses that law enforcement bodies must strictly observe legislation which guarantees the rights and safety of the town residents.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Appeal to Baltics

LD2007114990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] We are broadcasting an appeal to the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Half a century ago the supreme representative bodies of state power, elected by the working people, declared Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to be Soviet Socialist Republics, and adopted decisions to join the Union of the USSR. Peoples that had been neighbors for centuries linked themselves with bonds of cooperation and joint life.

The entry of the Baltic peoples into the Soviet Union took place at a dramatic time when the Second World War had been in progress for a year, and when the greater part of Europe was enslaved by fascism. The working people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia experienced for themselves the whole horror of occupation, the whole brutality of Hitlerism and its precursors.

At a cost of enormous sacrifices, and by the joint efforts of all the peoples of the country, victory was won in the Great Patriotic War.

Major changes in the economic and sociocultural development both of the Baltic republics and of the Union as a whole were achieved in the postwar years. A mighty production potential was created. Serious movement forward in science and education is there to be seen. National self-awareness was raised to a new level. The republics were integrated deeply and in an all-round way in the economic and sociopolitical life of the Soviet Union. Their international authority was strengthened. Their world economic and cultural links were expanded.

At the same time, long years passed before, thanks to a purging process in our own home, we all were able to express our thoughts and feelings openly, and to decide how to restructure for the best the relations in the Soviet family and to renew our multinational state.

Perestroyka, begun five years ago, has been achieved through the suffering of the whole country and of each of its peoples.

For the first time we are being given the opportunity to build our joint coexistence in a democratic and good-neighborly way, so that each people enjoys to the full extent the boons of cooperation, the advantages of cooperation, of stabilization, and security.

These aims are attainable. There are no insoluble problems on the path toward them as long as we remember that perestroyka is not a landmark from which one can look back, but also that height from which the future unfolds better.

Yes, renewal is proceeding with difficulty. Dogmas and stereotypes are being overcome by combat. There is therefore a very great need at present for mutual understanding, cooperation, support, the pooling of available resources, exchange of intellectual and moral values, and mutual respect both among people and among nations. Our appeal to each of you is also an insistent call for the constructive social dialogue of which the country today stands in such need.

We send greetings and wishes for prosperity and happiness to the working people, peasants, and intelligentsia of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, to veterans and young people, on the occasion of the notable dates which have been destined to be inscribed in our common troubled history. Responsibility and common sense must help us all to make the right choice, combine free national development with the advantages of equal participation in a Union of sovereign socialist states, the path to which is opened by the forthcoming signing of a new Union treaty.

Baltic States Request CSCE Observer Status

AU2007084690 Paris AFP in English 0840 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Vienna, July 20 (AFP)—Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia have asked to attend the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as observers, a CSCE official said.

The request which came Thursday must be backed by one of the 35 member states of the CSCE, all European countries except Albania plus the United States and Canada, for it to be considered at their next session Friday.

Observers say the Baltic states have little chance of be accepted because all 35 countries would have to agree.

An similar request by the three breakaway Soviet republics to attend CSCE talks on human rights in Copenhagen in June was turned down.

RSFSR

Russian Parliament To Form Federation Council

LD1907195290 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Recognising the need for profound transformations in the Russian Federation, the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decreed today to set up a Federation Council to coordinate work to conclude a federal treaty.

According to a resolution of the presidium, the council will include the president of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, presidents of the Supreme Soviets of autonomous republics, as well as representatives of other national, administrative, and territorial entities on the territory of the Russian Federation.

Plans call for elaborating and finalising the main principles of the federal make-up of the Russian Federation, and for discussing a relevant declaration at the next Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation.

Supreme Soviet Abolishes Official Privileges

LD1907171590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul (TASS)—The Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet has abolished all types and forms of privileges enjoyed by officials in the republic. The decision, which has been circulated here today, says that from 1 August this year, legislative acts, decisions, instructions, and directives directly or indirecting providing officials with privileges, are to be considered invalid. The document notes that the privileges of power, of remunerations unrelated to labor, of unmerited benefits, and of comfortable working and living conditions which have not been earned by labor, infringe upon social justice.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Issues Resolutions

Law on Ownership

PM1907135990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[RSFSR Law "On Ownership on RSFSR Territory"]

[Text] Guided by the decisions of the First Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies on RSFSR state sovereignty and the delimitation of functions of management of organizations on RSFSR territory, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves that:

1. On the territory of the Russian Federation the right to ownership of the land, its mineral wealth, waters, woods, other natural resources, fixed production capital, other

property, and assets is regulated by the laws of the RSFSR and the autonomous republics.

The aforementioned items of property can be granted to the USSR for the implementation of all-Union tasks on terms and according to the procedure laid down by RSFSR laws and the union treaty.

The RSFSR guarantees the protection of the property rights of Union republics, foreign states, their citizens, and organizations.

2. All actions by subjects of economic relations in contravention of RSFSR state sovereignty and economic interests are prohibited and deemed invalid.

[Signed] B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated]Moscow, RSFSR House of the Soviets, 14 July 1990.

Law on Ministries, State Committees

PM1907134190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[RSFSR Law "On Republic Ministries and RSFSR State Committees"]

[Text] In accordance with the decisions of the First Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies on RSFSR state sovereignty and the delimitation of functions of management of organizations on RSFSR territory, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To ratify the following list of republic ministries and RSFSR state committees:

RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations,
RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs,
RSFSR Ministry of Health,
RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
RSFSR Ministry of Culture,
RSFSR Ministry of the Forestry Industry,
RSFSR Ministry of Education,
RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media,
RSFSR Ministry of Industry,
RSFSR Ministry of Communications, Information Technology, and Space,
RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food,
RSFSR Ministry of Social Security,
RSFSR Ministry of Trade,
RSFSR Ministry of Transport,
RSFSR Ministry of Labor,
RSFSR Ministry of Grain Products,
RSFSR Ministry of Justice,
RSFSR State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and Support for New Economic Structures,
RSFSR State Committee for Nationalities Affairs,
RSFSR State Committee for Geology and Utilization of Fuel and Energy and Mineral Raw Material Resources,
RSFSR State Committee for Science and Higher Education Affairs,
RSFSR State Committee for Land Reform,
RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply for Republic and Regional Programs,
RSFSR State Committee for Public Security and Collaboration With the USSR Defense Ministry and the USSR KGB,
RSFSR State Committee for the Socioeconomic Development of the North,
RSFSR State Committee for Architecture and Construction,
RSFSR State Committee for the Management of State Property,
RSFSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport,
RSFSR State Committee for Ecology and Nature Use,
RSFSR State Committee for the Economy.

2. To form a State Commission for Economic Reform as a special permanent body of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

3. To introduce the post of RSFSR minister for the affairs of union sector enterprises located on RSFSR territory.

The rights and duties of the aforementioned RSFSR minister are determined by the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

4. Until RSFSR legislation on state management organs is brought into line with the present law, current acts of legislation are to be enforced provided that they do not contravene the present law.

5. To instruct the RSFSR Council of Ministers to prepare and submit for examination by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet a draft new RSFSR law on the RSFSR Council of Ministers, along with proposals to change the corresponding articles of the RSFSR Constitution.

[Signed] B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
[Dated]Moscow, RSFSR House of the Soviets, 14 July 1990.

Free Enterprise Zones

PM1907140990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[RSFSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Creation of Free Enterprise Zones"]

[Text] In view of the specific features of regional development, with a view to ensuring the transition to a market economy, and guided by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet resolution "On the Fundamental Principles for the Implementation of Foreign Economic Activity on the Territory of the RSFSR," the RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To adopt the proposals of the Leningrad and Vyborg City, the Maritime Kray (including Nakhodka City), and

Kaliningrad, Sakhalin, and Chita Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies for their territories to be declared free enterprise zones.

2. That the RSFSR Council of Ministers in conjunction with local soviets of people's deputies on the aforementioned territories elaborate within a two-month period and submit to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet for examination a draft resolution on the legal status of the aforementioned free enterprise zones, and determine the procedure for the activity of enterprises and organizations on these territories, tax and investment regulations for the transfer of capital, goods, and services, the regulation of labor relations, and the conditions for workers' social protection.

3. That the RSFSR Council of Ministers generalize the proposals submitted by local soviets of people's deputies from other regions regarding the creation of free enterprise zones on their territories and submit them for examination by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

[Signed]B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated]Moscow, RSFSR House of the Soviets, 14 July 1990.

Silayev Delivers Plan for Council of Ministers

90UN2313A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Jul 90 Single Edition p 3

[Report by I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, at a joint meeting of the Soviet of the Republic and Soviet of Nationalities on 5 July 1990]

[Text] Esteemed comrade chairman, esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet! In keeping with a decision of the First Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies, allow me to report to you on the draft structure of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation.

Given that two tables and a short commentary in the form of a note were handed out to you, which explain the sense and principles on which this structure is built, with your permission I am not going to repeat what has been described therein. I will focus your attention on the most significant principled approaches in their entirety and on the main aspects which, in our opinion, should definitely be expressed and explained. First of all, we strove for a structure to reflect the goals and tasks which the organ of executive power in our republic is facing, and for a structure to facilitate as successfully as possible the accomplishment of the main tasks and resolutions made by the congress and the Supreme Soviet. I would like to stress three of the most significant principles which are, to our mind, embedded in the structures presented. The first one is working for the people; the second is that a production cell in the entire variety of its forms is the foundation of the economic base; the third, that the principles of the sovereignty of Russia be implemented in the political, economic, and social aspects of this issue.

Since we are already at work on a program of transition to a market economy, and the Russia[illegible]eration is going to operate under these circumstances, this segment of life in our Russian society, definitely one of the most significant, should be and, we believe, has been reflected in the structure proposed. You can see that new management organs have appeared, and new names which might be somewhat unusual. Right now, we note that questions came up yesterday. I will emphasize that even traditional branches will be faced with substantially renewed tasks due to their content and functions. For example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will naturally engage in foreign policy activities. However, to a significant degree it should and will facilitate accomplishing the most important tasks of working for the people, developing the economy, and all other actions which are necessary to accomplish our common tasks.

Therefore, the composition of the Council of Ministers and the structure have been outlined to you. First, I would like to say a few words about the table. You cannot see it, but consider it to be my instruction aid. You have these little tables in your hands. A few words by way of explaining the composition of the government. There are 16 presidium members in the composition of the presidium of the Council of Ministers of Russia (this is the top segment of the table); they include six deputies of the chairman of the Council of Ministers headed by the chairman, and the leaders of ministries and departments which, in our opinion, should be in the presidium. There is an issue which we need to discuss with you. We have the chairman of the Committee for Statistics and Analysis on the Presidium. From the point of view of extremely impartial statistics which are absolutely free and independent, this should be, in our opinion, an organ of the Supreme Soviet. However, if you consider it necessary and possible to transfer these functions to us, we envisage this cell as reporting directly to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. This is an issue of principle. We mean not only impartial information, but also a certain analysis of the information obtained.

Many questions have already arisen with regard to the innovations council. This morning, we had a conversation with Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bocharov on the same topic. Let me explain what this is. Even now, a great number of all kinds of radical proposals, I would say, audacious in a way, which carry an energy charge and the desire to help Russia, end up on the desk of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. It is quite difficult to sort out this pile of proposals. It would be incorrect to tackle it through customary procedures; we know what this leads to. Therefore, a working apparatus is necessary in order to select the most serious proposals which are new in principle, extremely necessary, and realistic. A group of eight to nine people will do this. We are now working on selecting its staff, which will review these issues, analyze them in depth, and give recommendations to the chairman and presidium of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers. These are not going to be great leaders and well-known figures. However, if I may say so, these are going to be erudite individuals capable of seeing the rational points and discerning the significant proposals which are necessary for the republic. This is what an innovation council is. In the old composition, a council of advisers operated. These were persons who had completed their service and switched to a retirement regimen. This group was created on the pattern of similar groups in the Ministry of Defense. We eliminated it, and freed up staff positions and funds. In the lower segment of the table we put the composition of the traditional and new ministries and committees. I will comment on their main functions and meaning for you based on the first chart. I would like to invite your attention to the rectangle located in the lower part of the table—the chairman of the Peasant Union. We believe that the issues of the rebirth of rural areas and, consequently, the rebirth of Russia are so serious and have been so profoundly neglected that the participation of a representative of the Russian Peasant Union in the composition of the government is extremely necessary. We ask for your consent and support for putting the chairman of the Peasant Union in the government.

There are two empty rectangles; they were filled, but subsequently we left them vacant in view of eventual opportunities for a different membership in our republic government.

I would like to draw your attention to this rectangle; here we have a member of the government, the chairman of the Committee for Managing State Assets. I will comment on it using the same chart and the same idea as for the top rectangle, the Committee for Statistics and Analysis. To our mind, this should be an organ of the Supreme Soviet. Apparently, this has to be under the Supreme Soviet because at issue are assets, and assets now belong to the people. However, if you consider it possible to have this committee inside the government structure—and this is what we would ask you to do—this cell will belong to the structure of the Council of Ministers.

We know that all kinds of doubts, considerations, and proposals have already appeared. Naturally, we will analyze them, and take them into account to a certain degree. Now I would like to dwell on the issues of principle. We attempted to represent the composition of the government or, more precisely, the structure of the government, dividing it into blocks for a quite definite purpose. I would like to begin with this small block. This is the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, the minister of agriculture, and, as you can see, there is the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Forestry. We discussed the issue of forming the Ministry of Agriculture for a very long time, we analyzed foreign structures, in particular that of the United States of America, and consulted with agrarian specialists at all levels. While I still was not chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, at meetings with deputies and agricultural specialists we came to the conclusion that at present, taking into account our tasks, this is the most expedient form of state management. I stress, a form of management rather than government; this is exactly the sense that is meant. We believe that this is also where the issue is resolved which at present concerns the non-Chernozem zone. What is now going to happen to the structure which is in operation there at present? In the opinion of agricultural specialists, it has made a certain positive impact, all the complications notwithstanding. I would like to reassure our respected agricultural specialists and explain to them that, in essence, we are not breaking up this cell; it will become the Main Administration of the Ministry of Agriculture. At present, we are not even infringing on the number of its staff; we will examine this together, taking into account the fact that the chief of this main directorate will be first deputy minister. As you can see, at the suggestion of agricultural specialists we have the leader of this ministry as first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

There is a very important block in the center of the table to which I would like to draw your attention. This is the Committee on the Economy with a set of relevant organs, and the Economic Reform Commission, also with a set of relevant organs. I will mention right away future candidates and those who you would like to submit to us for consideration in the days to come, despite this not being on the agenda today. The candidacy of Comrade Filshin is expected to be proposed as head of the Committee on the Economy. These are the materials we have prepared (applause), and, apparently, taking into account the decision you make, we will submit them for consideration of the Supreme Soviet and, accordingly, its chambers. We want to propose to confirm Comrade Yavlinskiy as head of the Economic Reform Commission. We view this block as exceptionally significant because the success of the economic operations of the government and, correspondingly, of the republic as a whole will depend on how successfully we form and staff this block and on how successfully it interacts with a number of key ministries, first of all with the Ministry of Finance, and other important organs.

So, comrades, I believe that this block, this upper line, does not scare you—these are organizations which report directly to the chairman of the Council of Ministers, which is why I am discussing this very block. The first block is the Committee on the Economy and a number of other ministries. It consists of the former Gosplan [State Planning Committee], Committee for Prices, and a number of subdivisions of other departments. It will combine in its activities some present functions, functions of the period of transition, and the functions of a center for organizing economic work under new conditions. These definitely include functions such as working out socioeconomic development programs of our republic as a whole, preparation of priority programs for individual avenues or the most significant regions, and programs which will be considered and adopted by the Supreme Soviet, which will have the force of law, and which will be implemented by means of planning and economic support by this committee.

We will perform the most significant function of this committee, interaction with the Union republics, taking into account your decisions, thus working on the implementation of the economic sovereignty of our republic. It is very important to stop the redistribution of all kinds of material and other resources through the center in order for us to be able to deal directly on a contractual basis with all Union republics. We already have such an understanding in principle, and the organization of such work will be performed by the committee of which Comrade Filshin will be in charge.

I would ask you not to judge harshly whether the presence of every ministry and committee here is arithmetically precise. We have looked at various versions, but we settled on this one. Our discussion today will show whether some changes and certain redistributions are required in this matter.

We proceed from the principle that the most significant state programs will embody the essence and sense of state orders. Of course, the most significant state and republic programs should have powerful financial and material support, not, however, on the principle of the priority status of branches or some segments but rather on the principle of the priority status of a topic which should be set forth, submitted for confirmation to the Supreme Soviet, and subsequently implemented, including the participation and guidance of the committees.

I believe that the name itself, the Economic Reform Commission, renders its essence very well. We hear: Don't you have too many cells in here? We believe that the good laws which the USSR Supreme Soviet has been adopting are not being implemented because there is no mechanism for their implementation. Therefore, the appearance of a number of elements, such as the Land Reform Committee, the Anti-Monopoly Policy Committee, the Committee for the Management of State Assets, the Committee for the Support of New Economic Structures, and, finally, the Ministry of Labor are exactly mechanisms for the influence of the state on supporting and ensuring republic laws, especially those associated with the implementation of the principles of transition to market relations, through organizational work in such a manner as to implement them. This is what the appearance of such structures means.

Naturally, the Land Reform Committee (it is not reflected in the chart) cannot function on its own. This most significant element will definitely be most vigorously supervised, and its work will proceed in close cooperation with the Ministry of Agriculture and Comrades Filshin and Yavlinskiy.

We understand that our domestic infrastructure (republic and Union) will not immediately adjust the relations of production between enterprises and republics, and will not form an internal market immediately. This is why we will have the Committee for Supporting Enterprises in the Issues of the Supply of Material and Technical Resources. We envisage the following pattern here: Naturally, main operations will proceed horizontally between production and other cells, those who are interested in cooperation. Definitely they will not succeed in everything, especially in an environment in which a market infrastructure has not yet evolved. This is why the enterprises certainly need support in finding partners for materials and subcontracted parts. This will be reflected in the program for contractual relations with the Union republics. Therefore, if you will, this is the former Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies], but with new functions—providing support rather than redistribution. In the future the committee will apparently transform itself into a commercial center.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that a nontraditional Committee for Science and Technology or, say, a Committee for Secondary and Higher Education, and so on, will appear here. We consulted extensively with the deputies representing science and colleges correspondingly. We came to the conclusion that we will not resolve the issue of scientific-technical progress on the whole without resolving the issue of science and colleges. This is why this structure appeared. Numerous meeting with educators—there were many both before my appointment and after it—made clear to us the need to have the Ministry of Education. There are different points of view at present as to whether they should be split. However, first, the budget problem is arising in education, unlike science in which commercial principles already exist, and which has self-financing in combination with state financing; meanwhile, in education the purely budgetary principle applies. A numerous army of instructors, teachers, and attendants stated that the higher schools have not gone, and will not go, all the way to nurseries and day-care centers. We agree with them on this, and this is why the Ministry of Education appeared here.

I believe that the Ministry of the Mass Media, Communications, and Data Management will not cause you any doubts. What we mean is that the Russian mass media—the TV and the press—of course need appropriate support by the government.

I would like to comment on this rectangle which is linked directly to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Look at it and pay attention—this is the Committee of National Security and Cooperation with the USSR Ministry of Defense and USSR KGB. First of all, let me recall that a congress resolution specifies tasks and assignments to the government on having cells in the government, including at the level of ministers, which would cooperate with the State Security Committee and the Ministry of Defense. Numerous discussions and profound reflections have brought us to the necessity of offering to you the variant of a committee which is charted here. I stress—National Security. We need a stable situation, which we unfortunately do not have at present, in order to successfully accomplish the complex tasks of the rebirth of our economy and the rebirth of our sovereignty. The task of this committee is to analyze the political, social, and interethnic situation, predicting the possible development of events which initially do not appear dangerous but subsequently bring about an explosive situation. We believe that one of the most significant tasks of the Committee for National Security is to have a powerful computer center which would make it possible to collect and process information and issue corresponding recommendations to the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

This is how I would like to comment in brief on the Committee of National Security.

I have not dwelled on this block despite the fact that, as you can see, it comes first here, and, naturally, it is headed by the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for general affairs, the Committee for the Issues of Local Self-Government. A great number of economically independent local organizations, associations, and other forms are developing in our republic. They have already been registered, and already exist in the light, textile, and consumer services industry. Naturally, they need support. Naturally, the main focus of concern with, and responsibility for, resolving social issues is shifting to the regions, taking into account the fact that local budgets are being formed, and local authorities are being reinforced. Naturally, programs also need to be supported. We believe that the Committee for the Issues of Local Self-Government is particularly necessary, especially at the stage of the emergence of the system of economic independence. It should have serious support, a certain degree of financing, and so on. This is why we considered it necessary to have this committee.

As a matter of fact, further on here we have items which are also determined by the decision, the resolution of the congress on the separation of functions. We have reflected it correspondingly. We have the Ministry for the Affairs of Industry here. Pursuant to the decisions of the congress we will vigorously influence the acquisition of economic independence by large, medium-size, and small enterprises which are now a part of Union structures.

I would like to say that we have had several interesting meetings, and a number of proposals have been stated which we have agreed with. Thus, for example, the Committee for Nationalities Issues proposed to organize an institute of representatives of autonomous entities at the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation. We believe that this is a very proper proposal; if the deputies support this, we will definitely consider this pattern. Perhaps we should not necessarily replicate the Union pattern but try to fulfill this wish on new principles.

A number of other proposals have been made. In particular, a feeling of concern was expressed: Why is there no organizational structure such as a committee for the family and women in the composition of the government? We know that this is the case in various combinations in the structure of Western countries, in the FRG, France, India, and other countries. We are prepared to consider this. However, I do not know whether we should introduce a still greater number of committees. This could be a subcommittee, or a department of the Administration of Affairs of the Council of Ministers. We will discuss this. Comrades have come who are concerned about the future evolution of the program for the development of the Far North and the Polar Area. This is an issue. This problem may be reflected in one of the subcommittees.

We had a very serious meeting with the leaders of the athletic movement, leading athletes, and heads of the respective federations and societies. We discussed a problem which is reflected here. We propose a minister for youth affairs, sports, and—this was added—tourism, rather than a committee. We should think whether tourism is necessary here, because this is a more commercial sphere. However, on the issue of whether a committee is to be or not to be, they very vigorously insisted exactly on a committee. By the end of the conversation we came to the conclusion that the point is not whether there is a committee or not but what the place of physical culture, along with spiritual culture, is in the life of our society, the work of the government, and the concerns of local organs. That is to say, variants are still possible in this matter. We still adhere to the pattern which we are proposing: This is a minister, this is a section which definitely will develop programs within the government, defend these interests in the budget process, and so on.

In short, we do not believe that we have submitted the final variant. However, we think that it reflects the same tasks. In the future we will select candidates taking this structure into account. We understand that we have very little time to accomplish this, but we will try to make decisions on the main appointments and introduce candidates for the main posts in the government, the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation. Thank you for your attention.

Silayev Meets With Trade Union Chairman

904F0211A Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 Jul 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The First Working Meeting"]

[Text] **The first working meeting of the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, I.S. Silayev, and the chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, was held yesterday.**

Federation chairman I.E. Klochkov and his deputy, V.I. Roman, informed the head of the Russian government on the recent interregional trade union conference on social and economic problems of the north held recently in Murmansk and gave him the documents adopted at it.

Representatives of the 12 northern regions of the RSFSR who participated in it focused attention on the crucial problems of the northern regions and made concrete suggestions for solving them.

I.S. Silayev noted that the government is interested in close cooperation with the trade unions and in constructive relations with them in determining each side's share of the responsibility for the state of affairs. He thanked them for the suggestions they had made, which will be taken into account in the development of the government's program.

Russian Trade Union Plenum Reported

LD2007015190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul (TASS)—The Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia (FITUR), which represents more than 45 million workers, intends to conclude an annual agreement with the republic's new government specifying mutual obligations in effecting economic recovery, developing the social sphere, and protecting the natural environment. A draft agreement for 1991 was approved at a plenum of the FITUR Council, which ended in Moscow today, and will soon be presented to the republic's government.

The plenum supported the government's program for saving the Russian Federation from socioeconomic crisis. The program envisages further refinement of the economic mechanism to guarantee Russia genuine independence as a sovereign state within the USSR with complete economic freedom for all producers on Russian territory. Also in tune with the FITUR's stance is the republican government's stress on market relations without compulsory administrative increases in the retail prices of consumer goods.

In the coming years, FITUR will be actively involved in legislative work. It plans to initiate a declaration of the rights of the working people of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] embodying International Labor Office recommendations and the recognized norms of international human rights conventions.

The plenum participants spoke in favor of a very speedy preparation of a basic law on RSFSR trade unions. At the same time, the plenum expressed concern in connection with attempts to block the activities of the acutal mass organization of the country's working people by means of what is essentially an anti-trade union legislative act. This particularly concerns the bill published in the press "on public associations" which tries to remove the very idea of a trade union movement, effectively to estrange the organization of the working people from protecting their lawful rights and interests, and to place trade unions on the same footing as various societies, associations, and funds, which have recently mushroomed.

The FITUR action program was ratified concerning elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl atomic power station accident, which envisages the allocation of additional financial resources, medical, and other equipment for the population in the affected areas, an increase in the number of holiday packages, and treatment to those who have lived in the radioactive contamination zone.

The plenum endorsed, in the main, a draft document on FITUR strategy for the next few years. It is proposed to hold annually in July 10-12 days of unity of action for the RSFSR trade unions aimed at the protection of social and economic rights of the working people (this action coincides with the miners' strikes in the Kuznetsk coal basin in 1989).

The First of May rallies and marches will become a kind of "spring offensive" of the Russian trade unions, an expression of their solidarity with the working people of the Union republics, and the working movements in other countries. The federation will go back to consider these and other proposals at the second meeting of the constituent congress of the RSFSR trade unions, which will take place in September this year.

New Trade Union Weekly Launched in Ufa

LD2007092590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Summary] A new weekly called DEYSTVIYE [ACTION] has been published in Ufa by the Bashkiriya Oblast Soviet of Trade Unions. It's aim is to protect the rights and interests of working people and to inform the inhabitants of the region of what is being done by trade unions to improve working conditions and ecological safety and to prevent the population's living standards from declining.

Private Owners Take Over Komsomol Enterprises

LD1907224790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The handover of enterprises previously belonging to the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] into joint-stock and private ownership has started in Leningrad. A decision to that effect has been taken by the Leningrad Oblast committee of the Komsomol.

Kalugin Nominated as People's Deputy Candidate

LD1907221390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2015 GMT 19 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpt] A report follows from Krasnodar about an unexpected turn in the political struggle.

[Correspondent V. Obraztsov] Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov, leader of the Russian Communist Party, has given up the struggle for the mandate of USSR people's deputy from Krasnodar national-territorial constituency no. 15. You will recall that quite recently, already having a mandate from precisely that constituency, he had to voluntarily surrender it in order to run for a seat in the Russian parliament. The election campaign will be very tough, since 21 people have been registered as candidates competing for one mandate, including Oleg Danilovich Kalugin, former head of the USSR KGB's foreign intelligence directorate. In election documents, his profession was modestly described as pensioner. The demoted general was nominated by the collective of the All-Union Research Institute for Gas Processing. An overwhelming majority—96 percent—has nominated Oleg Danilovich Kalugin as candidate to the people's deputies of the country. [passage omitted]

Report on Cadmium Pollution in Sakhalin Waters

PM1907144590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Report by V. Feoktistov and V. Shinkarev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The causes of an ecological emergency which caused alarm among the inhabitants of Sakhalin last August have finally begun to emerge. You may recall that at that time fish, birds, and animals were dying in Aniva Bay, a very popular vacation spot on Sakhalin. Investigations revealed that seawater was highly polluted with cadmium, the harmful heavy metal. However, how it got into the sea remained a puzzle for a long time. Puzzles are usually solved and, once again, man's carelessness seems to have been the cause of this ecological tragedy, as you will see from our correspondent's report. Incidentally, the ecological tragedy at Aniva Bay is repeating itself this year. Beaches have again been closed, newspapers have again reported heightened levels of cadmium in the seawater.

[Correspondent] Virtually untreated industrial and domestic effluent from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Korsakovo, Aniva, and dozens of coastal villages, livestock units, and coal mines is dumped in Aniva Bay. Treeless shores, piled high with rubbish. Intensive shipping. But who in particular is causing the pollution, and to what degree? Or is there perhaps also another, as yet unknown source of the cadmium pollution? A creative collective comprising the "Opyt" cooperative, staff from the Institute of Geology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the Physics Institute of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences, and the Scientific Council for the Study of Natural Resources by Remote Methods decided to find the answer to these questions.

It is known that in Sakhalin the cadmium concentration level is much higher than elsewhere in the country. Nonetheless, how do you explain the recent upsurges?

[Son Gen Te, leading engineer at "Sakhalin-Geologiya" computer information center] First of all, we do believe that a major part in this is played by a heightened natural background level of cadmium in Sakhalin. Another possible reason are water sources, both surface and underground sources. Furthermore, during the spring high water, for instance, in April and May cadmium from sediment is churned up and is then registered in the water readings. The suspension of solids in Sakhalin rivers is the highest in the Far East. This reflects our brutal attitude to tree plantations.

[Correspondent] In Japan, and Hokkaido in particular, a serious regional disease "itai-itai" has emerged. Are we going to wait until it reaches Sakhalin? Or should we pool the efforts of state, cooperative, social, and charitable organizations to block the advance of "itai-itai." This is no time to give kid-glove treatment to bureaucrats.

Yeltsin Takes Vacation in Latvia

LD1907221790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2015 GMT 19 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has arrived in Latvia for a vacation. He will stay in Yurmala until 2 August.

Western Republics

Ukraine Nationalists Planning Own Armed Forces

LD2007083190 Moscow TASS in English 0819 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 20 TASS—The declaration of the Ukraine's state sovereignty, adopted by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet recently, vests the republic with the right to have its own armed forces. The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper writes about efforts by some activists of the Ukrainian Rukh movement to project the USSR Armed Forces as an occupation army in the republic.

Rukh Leader Ivan Drach says that the movement does not have plans to build up a military. In practice, however, work to create "Ukrainian Armed Forces" has already begun, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out.

Leaflets circulated in the Lvov region, recommend that youths, upon receiving draft noticed, "inform at once the committee to set up the Ukrainian Armed Forces and decisively dodge the draft to the USSR Armed Forces."

"The committee to set up the Ukrainian Armed Forces was formed by youth movements prioritising independent power," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes. One of the committee's founders is the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth. Its co-chairman Oleg Vitovich is a people's deputy to the Lvov regional soviet.

He advocates Ukraine's immediate secession from the USSR, banning Communist Party's activity and bringing its members to court. His ideal is "the Ukrainian state as a mononational superpower. But to become a mighty power requires a strong army".

"We have territorial claims to Russia--Voronezh, Kursk and Krasnodar territories, to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Moldavia," Vitovich told KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. "Such issues are hardly solved by peaceful means. The third millennium will begin with ethnic wars. We should be prepared for this," he says.

"We are restoring the structure of the Ukrainian People's Army already, starting at the level of camp training. At these sessions, held in the Carpathian Mountains, we teach youths marshal [as received] arts and other types of single combat and shooting," Vitovich says.

According to Vitovich, they are guided by the ideology of Stepan Bandera, the ringleader of Ukrainian nationalists during the Second World War.

Gurenko Criticizes Gorbachev, Views Congress

LD1907164690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Sayko]

[Text] Kiev, 19 July (TASS)—"On the whole I am satisfied with the results of the 28th CPSU congress," stated 54 year-old Stanislav Gurenko, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, who has for the first time been elected member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. Interviewed by a TASS correspondent, he said that at its congress the CPSU demonstrated its viability and readiness for renewal. In Gurenko's opinion, the CPSU's opponents and political adversaries made a mistake when, on the eve of the congress, they forecast a split in the party.

From the viewpont of the leader of the Ukraine's communists, the results of the congress are very important for the development of the communist parties of the union republics and for expanding their independence. In particular, the over three million strong Communist Party of the Ukraine now has the opportunity to draft its own program documents independently, which also means more fully expressing the radical interests of the 52 million Ukraine people, determining its structures, and disposing of funds.

Communists of the Ukraine went to the 28th CPSU Congress with the main task of preserving party unity. The overwhelming majority of delegates from the party organizations of the Ukraine demonstrated this in their speeches, in their attitude to the events occurring at the congress, and in their stance on the fundamental issues of the life and activity of the CPSU, said the republic's party leader.

Concerning his speech at the congress (in it Gurenko said that he critically appraises the activity of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee), the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine noted; "In my view, Mikhail Gorbachev ought to have shown greater determination and consistency in implementing the plans for restructuring the party and society as a whole. Inconsistency in carrying out his proposed reforms is the general secretary's main failing to date. This may be because he has not been sufficiently resolute in renewing the composition of his entourage."

Among the party's top priority tasks following the 28th congress, Stanislav Gurenko singled out the renewal and democratization of life within the party and the strengthening of the authority and influence of grassroots sections of the party. Much also needs to be done in restructuring ideological work and promoting the personal involvement in it of secretaries of the Central Committee and members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

"However, the main thing is to get rid of, at all levels, the habit of ideological dependence," Gurenko stated. "Until every communist recognizes his personal responsibility for the fate of the party and of socialism, our affairs will not improve. A most important task is to overcome the feeling of perplexity experienced by some members of the party, and to nip in the bud attempts to erode party structures which, unfortunately, have affected a number of party organizations. Good organization and the unity of communists' actions is needed. That does not at all contradict the policy on the democratization of the party, for strengthening the role of the primary party organizations. Every communist ought to be involved in elaborating the party's policy. Any opinion or proposal ought to be studied carefully and taken into account. However, we will not be capable of anything if we do not have a feeling of comradeship and do not feel the strength and support of the party. And good organization and conscious discipline are needed for that."

Ukraine's Wish for Change 'Prevailed Over Logic'

PM1907101190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Correspondent Sergey Tsikora report under the rubric "Direct Link": "Declaration of Sovereignty Adopted"]

[Text] Kiev—Deputies of the republic's parliament have adopted a declaration on the state sovereignty of the Ukraine.

Realizing the historic significance of this document, the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet resolved to consider 16 July a holiday on Ukrainian territory. On the same day deputies began examining the structure of organs of state management of the economy and the social sphere. V. Masol, head of the republic's government, advanced proposals on this topic.

In the premier's opinion, the adoption of the declaration of the republic's sovereignty radically changes the aims and tasks set before the Ukrainian SSR Council of

Ministers. He considers the chief task of the new management structure to be "to grant broad rights to labor collectives, even including withdrawal from sectoral tutelage." Ministries and departments must be turned from "the directive organs of management that they are today into economic centers with fundamentally new functions geared, above all, to satisfying people's needs."

What is it proposed to do for this in practice? At the present stage in the changing of organizational structures seven ministries and four state committees will be eliminated, and the state acceptance system will be abolished. The republic government, formed in 1985, consisted of 63 people. It is proposed to include just 39 in its present composition: eight deputy heads of government, 19 ministers, and 11 state committee chairmen, as well as the administrator of affairs of the Council of Ministers.

"Please take into account," V. Masol emphasized, "the fact that this is a structure for a transitional period. In the future, when market relations are introduced into the national economy and enterprises' real independence is ensured, we will put proposals to the Supreme Soviet to make appropriate changes to the management scheme."

But the smooth transition to market relations, designed to take two or three years, did not satisfy a section of the parliament's commissions. Their chairmen advocated reducing the transition time and radicalizing the future government's actions. It was proposed, for example, to replace the Agro-Industrial Committee by a Ministry of Agriculture and Food without delay, to set up a committee for the transfer of enterprises of union ministries to republic subordination, to provide in the management scheme for a department to tackle questions of republican army subunits... And all this to be realized without delay, almost within the year.

Naturally, the head of government cited his counterarguments, the burden of which was that the government will not disband the Agro-Industrial Committee during the harvest campaign but will choose a quieter time to do so. But after the adoption of the declaration on the republic's state sovereignty the desire for immediate changes prevailed over logic. Although the economic management scheme proposed by the head of government got a majority of votes, it did not get enough to be approved by parliament. It was decided to do some more work on some of the scheme's sections and to enrich it with proposals from deputies' permanent commissions.

Ukraine Supreme Soviet Argues Over Leader

LD1907115890 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Once again Ukraine's legislature is boiling with passion. No wonder since the Supreme Soviet has been leaderless for quite some time. In addition, Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol has yet to form his ruling team. [passage omitted]

Some faction representatives pressed today to solve the main question—the election of a new Supreme Soviet chairman. Since 9 July this post has remained vacant after its incumbent, Vladimir Ivashko, submitted a statement resigning. But the majority overruled them and decided that first the session should elect deputy prime ministers. [passage omitted]

Deputy Oles Tanyuk, from the Narodna Rada opposition, made a statement:

[Begin recording] "On behalf of the Narodna Rada I hereby state that its members, together with the Democratic Platform, will not take part in the election of deputy prime ministers because the Supreme Soviet is working in an unconstitutional manner—the chairman of the Supreme Soviet remains in office even though he has been appointed to another post. [end recording]

The opposition considers that the continuous absence of a Supreme Soviet chairman creates an unconstitutional situation and urges the legislature to resolve it right away. Yet the majority insisted that the election of deputy prime ministers was more pressing. [passage omitted]

The session approved Vitold Fokin, previously chairman of Ukrainian Gosplan, and Aleksandr Tkachenko, formerly minister of agriculture, and Vladimir Borisovskiy, as deputy prime ministers, with Fokin overseeing economy, Tkachenko agriculture and Borisovskiy responsible for construction. [passage omitted]

There are quite a few deputies who just cannot forgive Vitaliy Masol his alleged preference for the "old guard" while forming the government since the "old guard" is tantamount to rigid conservatism. Vitaliy Masol himself denies these allegations. [passage omitted]

At today's session the Supreme Soviet satisfied the request of Vladimir Ivashko to release him from the post of chairman and went over to the election of his successor. In all, 27 candidates were nominated. Among them are Ivan Plyushch, present deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet; Stanislav Gurenko and Leonid Kravchuk, first and second secretaries of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, respectively; Academician Igor Yukhnovskyy; lawyers Aleksandr Yemets and Serhiy Holovatyy, and others. This question will continue to be dealt with tomorrow.

Planned Strike Over Radar Station Called Off

PM1907135590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[INTERFAX report: "Strike Called Off"]

[Text] A conference of the Mukachevo "Rukh" organization has called off the planned mid-July all-Carpathian strike as a mark of protest against the construction of a military facility—a radar station—in the area. "We decided just to hold rallies and pickets giving notice of our protest," Yaroslav Kirichek, a "Rukh" leader, said in an interview for an "INTERFAX" correspondent. "The government has kept its promise and halted the construction of the station, although the document on the closure of the military facility has not yet arrived in Mukachevo. Nor is there any document transferring the facility to the local soviet. The Defense Ministry has not yet compensated for the damage to the area as a result of the construction. We are still uneasy because of all this. Nevertheless, we believe that a strike is inadvisable in the new conditions."

Lutsk Town Soviet Adopts National Symbols

LD1907221990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2015 GMT 19 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Leaders of the Lutsk town soviet of people's deputies have adopted a decision legitimizing national symbols: The Ukraine's coat of arms, flag and anthem. In its turn, a group of young people has torn down the blue-yellow flag in Chernovtsy town center and smashed an information board of the Rukh movement.

Pickets Block Khmelnitskaya Atomic Power Station

LD2007012590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] For several days now pickets organized by the Ukrainian Rukh movement and Zelenyy Svit have been blockading the Khmelnitskaya atomic power station. The pickets' tents come right up to the protective shields around the construction site for the second, third, and fourth generating sets of the Khmelnitskaya Nuclear Electric Power Station. The main reason for their action is that a moratorium has still not been adopted regarding construction of the atomic power station. This moratorium was drawn up four months ago by the local oblast soviet. The protesters are aware that there are considerable shortcomings in the design of the atomic power station. Apparently the atomic industry workers are themselves complaining about the low quality of equipment being manufactured by Soviet industry. During the three years the station's No. 1 generating set has been in operation, there have been 35 stoppages ans several fires recorded. Therefore, there is a basis for people's concern. The pickets say the blockade of the station will continue until the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet settles the question of a moratorium. [video shows tents and pickets outside the station and a reactor building in the background]

Ternopol Oblast Soviet Remains Leaderless

LD1907134790 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1945 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Excerpts] As reported, representatives of the Democratic Bloc have declined to affirm the results of voting in the election of chairman of the Ternopol Oblast soviet. As a result, the work of this elective organ has been all put paralyzed.

Our Ternopol correspondent, Yevhen Baras, reports:

Next, both sides exchanged statements. In theirs, members of the Democratic Bloc were bold enough to claim, and we quote, that the oblast soviet does not express the people's interests and has not justified its expectations. One can conclude that the Democratic Bloc regards as genuine bearers of the people's interests only those who adhere to its program.

An amusing position, isn't it? Especially from the point of view of democratism and pluralism.

The Communist Party bloc or, as it calls itself, the group of deputies who is in favour of continuing the session's work, in its statement calls on the Democratic Bloc to do away with confrontation and destructive position and return back to joint tasks. A compromise commission has been formed, but its sessions produced nothing. As a result, the session hall in the oblast soviet remained empty for two weeks, with important questions awaiting resolution. [passage omitted]

Deputy Malanchuk, chairman of the soviet, asked in his prepared statement whether his resignation would help in ending the standstill.

Although the majority comes out for immediate resumption of work the Democratic Bloc is prepared to do so only on its own conditions: that the preious election of chairman is nullified and second, that the chairamn should be from among deputies belonging to the democratic bloc.

That is how some understand democracy.

Ternopol To Remove Marx, Lenin Monuments

LD1907214290 Moscow TASS in English 2106 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Vladimir Novak]

[Text] Ternopol July 20 TASS— A session of the Ternopol City Council of People's Deputies in the western Ukraine decided to dismantle monuments to Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, writer and journalist Yaroslav Galan, who fought against nationalism, prominent Soviet and party figure Vladimir Zatonskiy, the Glory Obelisk and all military equipment monuments.

A city council representative told UKRINFORM-TASS that proposals to do so have long been voiced by city residents, standing council commissions and at rallies. The draft decision was submitted to the session by the Commission for Culture and National Revival.

Long discussions resulted in the decision to dismantle the aforementioned monuments by Ternopol's 450th anniversary, due in September-October. The city executive committee has been instructed to find a place where the monuments will be stored for the coming generations. Nobody is going to destroy them.

The decision might be disaffirmed only by a court decision or a referendum, the representative said.

Chronically Ill Sent to Chernobyl After Accident

90UN2354A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 28, 14-20 Jul 90 p 7

[Article by G. Antonov, chairman of the Chernobyl People's Union (Kineshma): "Chernobyl People from Kineshma"]

[Text] In 1986 a group of members of the military reserve from Kineshma, according to the records of the military commissariat, participated in the cleanup after the accident at the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station]. Among those sent were people who were chronically ill. No medical examination was conducted. The military commissariat paid no attention to complaints of illnesses, saying that all those who were mobilized would be given examinations by the medical commission in Kiev. There were no medical examinations in Kiev.

As a result, people with chronic diseases (of the gastrointestinal tract, epilepsy, vegetative dystonia, and so forth) spent about two months in the danger zone. Now the chronic diseases of many of the people have been aggravated.

Who will take responsibility for the undermining of their health? The doctors all say that these diseases existed before Chernobyl and therefore we do not have the right to associate them with being at the AES.

Decree No. 325 of 31 March 1990 of the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Trade Union Council "On Measures to Improve Medical Service and Social Security for Individuals Participating in the Cleanup after the Chernobyl AES Disaster," does not give an answer to those who were sent to Chernobyl because of somebody's criminal negligence even though they were chronically ill. No matter where we turn, nobody will give us a straight answer.

Is there anybody who will respond?

Belorussia Decides on Chernobyl Compensation

LD1907221490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports from Minsk:

The number of Belorussian inhabitants receiving compensation for residing in territory stricken by the Chernobyl atomic power station catastrophe has increased by 1.8 million people. Commencing 1 August, each person resident in lands with a density of radioactive contamination exceeding one curie per square kilometers will be paid 15 rubles monthly. This decision was made today by the Belorussian Supreme Soviet. However, the deputies have not yet determined how they are to fund this humanitarian action.

Caucasus

MVD General Interviewed on Armenia Situation

LD1907154790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The first session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet reportedly opens tomorrow. It is assumed that, among other things, the question of the situation that has taken shape in the republic will be discussed. But what is it like today? Lieutenant General Smyslov, first deputy commander of the USSR MVD troops, [Interior Ministry] has spoken about this at the request of a TASS correspondent.

The situation here can be described as extremely tense, he said, and he went on to report the following details: On 16 July, a stolen vehicle was stopped in Tallinskiy Rayon. As a result of an exchange of fire one criminal was killed. An automatic rifle, a machinegun, 86 antiaircraft shells and a large quantity of ammunition were found in the vehicle. On 17 July around 60 armed persons broke into the building of the Tallinskiy Rayon internal affairs department and carried out a pogrom. In Masisskiy Rayon 15 armed terrorists threw bottles containing inflammable liquid at a traffic police station. The building burnt down. During the night a group of armed persons blockaded the republic's MVD building in Yerevan using 20 vehicles. On 18 July in Spandaryanskiy Rayon in Yerevan there was an armed assault which was aimed at seizing weapons. Three pistols were taken from the police staff. On the same day there were attacks on a further two rayon MVD departments in which seven pistols were seized.

Well, his interview is long and I shall shorten it a little. You willl probably read it in the press tomorrow. I believe that the republic's Supreme Soviet will reach a sound assessment of the situation and adopt decisions which will make it possible to stabilize the situation, this interview says in conclusion. We shall follow carefully the attitudes taken by the Armenian people's deputies to discussing this painful question which is worrying the whole country, without exaggeration, and especially the mothers of soldiers from whom we are receiving letters increasingly frequently.

Armenian Supreme Soviet To Convene 20 Jul

NC1807145090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to convene the first session of the

12th convocation of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic on 20 July in Yerevan in accordance with Article 100 of the Armenian Republic's constitution—Basic Law.

To the attention of the people's deputies of the Armenian republic: The first session of the 12th convocation of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet will open at 1100 on 20 July 1990 at the Hall of Congresses of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, Melik-Atamyan Street No. 2.

The initial registeration of the people's deputies of the Armenian Republic will take place on 19 July 1990 from 0900 to 2000 at the building of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, Marshal Bagramyan Avenue, No. 26.

Armenian-Azerbaijani Border Situation Outlined

PM2007081390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Report by M. Mamedov and N. Zeynalov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Unfortunately, Osh oblast in Kirghizia is not the only trouble spot in our country. There is tension also in the Transcaucasus. The situation has deteriorated to such an extent that a border between Union republics—Azerbaijan and Armenia in this case—which was at one time regarded as a sort of abstract geographical concept, has become a real border, a border guarded and protected by border guards.

[Correspondent] We arrived at the border guard post together with the latest duty shift of servicemen. The border guard station itself is located lower down, but the outpost is on one of the highest mountaintops in Kelbadzharskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan. Its location enables the servicemen to fully monitor the movement of gangs. Until recently they crossed over into Azerbaijan virtually unhindered in order to take hostages, steal cattle, cause explosions, or carry out other acts of sabotage.

[A.P. Dannikov, commander of the troop operational reserve] The operational situation at our border posts cannot be described as stable in the positive sense of the word. We are constantly aware of attempts to infiltrate Azerbaijani territory, and in particular Kelbadzharskiy Rayon, from the Armenian side. We are constantly aware that criminal elements are trying to provoke conflicts. We constantly see and observe the massing of heavy hardware, and sometimes, in fact quite often, the personnel of our border posts come under fire.

[Correspondent] Are there no casualties?

[Dannikov] There are no casualties. We are doing everything we can to save lives, but at the same time also to ensure the fulfillment of the set task.

Turkish Paper Interviews Popular Front Leaders

NC1907123690 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 16 Jul 90 p 14

["Exclusive" interview with Ebulfez Aliyev Elcibey, Nedzheb Nedzhebov, Isa Kamberov, and Tofik Kasumov, leaders of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, by MILLIYET correspondent Cenk Baslamis; place and date not given—answers not attributed]

[Text] [Baslamis] What are the Popular Front's immediate goals?

[Answer] We should first point out that Azerbaijan is faced with serious treachery. A well-equipped Soviet Army force of 140,000 men is in the region with the objective of giving part of our territory to Armenia. In view of this, we first plan to launch a campaign for the withdrawal of the Soviet Armed Forces. We have appealed to the Azerbaijani parliament to have our borders defended by our own national army. However, our appeal has not produced any results. We have been forced to surrender our firearms, including our shotguns. Even the arms used by the militia units have been confiscated. However, the Armenians in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] are armed. We want our brothers in Turkey to be aware of this state of affairs. We shall definitely establish a national army. The policy Moscow is pursuing now is exactly the same policy as was pursued during the czarist era in Russia. Moscow cannot suppress the move for independence in Azerbaijan as long as it continues to overlook the arming of the Armenians. Gorbachev is behind all this and he is supported by the U.S. Congress and Bush. The people of the Georgian SSR are establishing their own national army. The Armenians and the peoples of Dagestanskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Georgian SSR are demanding land from Azerbaijan. The Soviet Union will be fragmented within a year, when the Armenians attack Azerbaijan.

[Baslamis] Has the Popular Front's program changed in connection with the question of independence?

[Answer] Yes, our program has changed since 19 January. We now want full independence. This has not been put on paper yet. However, this change has taken place in the minds of the people.

[Baslamis] What path will you take to achieve independence?

[Answer] Azerbaijan will separate from the Soviet Union through a referendum.

[Baslamis] You are aware that a period of five years is required for separation.

[Answer] The new law on separation does not apply to us. We adopted a decision on full sovereignty on 23 September 1989. Our laws were enacted before the law on separation. It is common knowledge that laws cannot be retroactive.

[Baslamis] Lithuania acted in a similar way, but it was confronted with an embargo.

[Answer] To tell you the truth, we are not greatly worried about an embargo. Unlike Lithuania, we have everything we need.

[Baslamis] The Popular Front remained inactive for a long time after 19 January.

[Answer] This is a popular movement. There can be fluctuations. However, the movement cannot be obstructed. The empire is exploiting us as if we were slaves, but slaves no longer exist. Moscow oppresses us whenever it wishes to do so. Likewise, it sends its Armed Forces to Azerbaijan whenever it wishes to do so. However, the empire is now collapsing. Democracy can be established in the Soviet Union as a whole if democratic regimes can be established in Russia and the Ukrainian SSR.

[Baslamis] You said a year ago that Turkey will be affected by the movement in Azerbaijan. What do you think about this now?

[Answer] No one believed what I said at the time. However, the incidents in January caused a significant reaction in Turkey. As far as I know, the unity displayed by the Turkish people in connection with the incidents in Azerbaijan was observed only twice before; that is, during the Ataturk era and the war in Cyprus. Azerbaijan has been stricken by misfortune. Nevertheless, we shall overcome this state of affairs. No one can obstruct this. Of course, bloodshed my occur in the course of our struggle. We may be attacked by the Russians and the Armenians. Turkish newspapers have recently begun to convey our views to the outside world. I wish to say one more thing: I am often asked whether we want to unite with Turkey. No, we do not support the idea of uniting with Turkey. However, the idea of establishing a confederal state may be discussed after 20 or 30 years. Once we achieve our independence, we shall help the Central Asian republics become independent as well. Perhaps then we can establish a confederal state with them. However, it is premature to discuss this now.

Preelection Demonstrations Warned Against

NC1907100390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 17 Jul 90

[Text] Colonel Valeriy Buniyatov, military commandant of Baku City, has told an AZERINFORM correspondent that the situation in Baku is peaceful. However, several individuals have been arrested for disrupting public law and order. There have also been cases of breaches of military discipline among military servicemen, but these were not serious.

Asked how long the state of emergency will remain in force, Buniyatov stated: The leaders of the informal organizations believe that the decision to hold elections while the state of emergency remains in force is undemocratic and restricts the rights of the citizens. However, this decision does not conflict with existing law. The state of emergency is intended to maintain public law and order in the city. The commandant's headquarters and the military units assigned to it do not wish to interfere in the preelection campaign and the elections. Nevertheless, any effort to (?disrupt) the preelection campaign and organize demonstrations, marches, and unauthorized rallies will be thwarted. Furthermore, all candidates affiliated with informal organizations will be cautioned that calls against the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, including those aimed at humiliating the president, will not go unpunished. I am not against the Popular Front and other alternative organizations and parties. I support the multiparty system within the limits of the law. Each party has the right to maintain its existence with concrete work for the benefit of the people.

Baku Commandant Warns of Unsanitary Conditions

LD2007110490 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 20 Jul 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program; report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] Representatives of the Azerbiajan People's Front and other informal organizations have demanded that the state of emergency be immediately lifted, internal troops pulled out of Baku, the election campaign boycotted, and elections to the republic's highest and local bodies of power held. This was stated in an interview by Valeriy Buniyatov, Baku's military commandant, which was published in republican newspapers. He said that the AZADLYG—the newspaper of the Azerbaijan People's Front which had resumed publication—carried several articles calling on the population to commit certain acts violating the conditions of state of emergency and also to boycott elections. In connection with that order by the military commandant the publication of the newspaper has been banned.

In his address to Baku residents, Colonel Buniyatov asks town dwellers to urgently deal with the town's santiary conditions since enormous piles of garbage have piled up on the streets. The sorry state of purification facilities and the sewer system and faults in water supply are increasing the risk of the outbreak of an epidemic in Baku. The military commandant warned that the careless attitude of Baku residents to measures aimed at improving the town's sanitary conditions will be regarded in the future as sabotage of the state of emergency.

Baku Airport Loses Hard Currency Earnings

OW2007061490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our next report is yet another example of inefficiency, and in my view, a very glaring one. We are always saying that there is a catastrophic shortage of hard currency in our country. We try to earn it where we can, and then, quite unexpectedly, in places where you could say it floats by itself into our hands, they interfere with our obtaining it. The details are in our correspondent's report. Take a look.

[Correspondent M. Mamedov] The collective of the Azerbaijan Civil Aviation Administration has been working under leasing conditions since last year. This independence has permitted it to increase the number of flights handled. The opportunity arose to begin flights abroad. From Baku Airport, which became an international airport, planes have already begun charter flights to Bulgaria, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia, and there are plans for flights to the FRG, Iran, and Morocco. With the earned hard currency it is planned to obtain equipment for a new airport terminal. [video shows the new terminal under construction]

But here is the paradox. Literally hours before a regular charter flight—and we notice that this is becoming a bad tradition—the flight was suddenly canceled on instructions from the center. Naturally, both the passengers and the crew are upset, and permission for the flight is received only after long and exhausting telephone calls to Moscow. It is delayed, of course, and the result is a loss of hard currency.

[Begin V.G. Sadykhly, head of the Azerbaijan Civil Aviation Administration, recording] As far as flights to Istanbul are concerned there has not been a single flight without the higher authorities in the center making unwarranted bans on departure, although Baku Airport is an international airport and has been certified as such. Furthermore, any airport in the Soviet Union has the right to operate international charter flights even if it does not have the status of an international airport. We think this issue needs to be resolved because such an attitude violates the flight timetables and affects the mood of both the passengers and the crew. I think the higher-level central authorities could make better use of their efforts and energy by putting a stop to hijackings of Aeroflot aircraft and not interfering with the normal operations and regularity of flights from Baku Airport. [end recording]

Perhaps the only thing I cannot agree with is that the higher authorities should try to stop hijackings. That is not in their jurisdiction or capabilities. I fully agree with everything else.

Mafia Attacks in Georgian Cities Detailed

90UN2348B Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Jul 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Under Mafia Control?"]

[Text] **Yesterday TRUD wrote about mass disorders in the city of Poti of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] that followed immediately after the death of M. Gvassaliya, one of the leaders of the local mafia gang.**

Officials of internal affairs organs tried to arrest him at 6 o'clock in the morning. The criminal, armed with a pistol and a fragmentation hand grenade, decided to resist. The militia had to shoot. Gvassaliya was mortally wounded in the head, and he soon died, not regaining consciousness. The local "mafiosi" decided to get revenge. Within several hours, the building of the city department of internal affairs and the public prosecutor was a ablaze. An infuriated crowd raged in the streets, through which fire engines could not pass. They set fire to the home of Poti's chief of criminal investigation, Sheliya, who was in another city entirely—Khobi. By a lucky chance, his family did not suffer...

Who could have imagined something like this just a few years ago? Moreover, Poti, which was always a safe city, was "easy," as officials of the internal affairs organs say. But lately facts show that in western Georgia it is difficult to say who controls whom—whether the militia controls the criminal world, or the criminal world controls the militia.

One more recent example: In a similar situation in the city of Chiatura, a clash occurred between militiamen and two criminals. In the process, one of the criminals was killed, and the second was wounded. The reaction, as it now happens, was instantaneous: An infuriated crowd laid siege to the building of the Rayon Department of Internal Affairs and broke into it. Thugs smashed service offices and seized weapons and ammunition. Two armed robbers broke into the office of the chief of militia. However, he did not lose his composure and, firing his pistol, he wounded one of the attackers. The second, deciding not to test fate, took off through a window. No more volunteers could be found to enter this office.

The events in Chiatura took on such a scale that one of the leaders of an "informal" movement, one Tsereteli, was compelled to come quickly from Tbilisi. He somehow managed to calm raging passions. But after Tsereteli departed, the crowd, which was warmed up by alcohol and incited by the criminals, routed the nondepartmental guards and the fire fighting unit. They also tried to attack the KGB, but seeing the determination of the state security employees to resist, withdrew. No one has yet been earnestly punished for all of these outrages. Only several criminal cases have been initiated, and they are for... hooliganism.

And now Poti. Events are unfolding according to an already tried scenario. An investigation is being conducted, but, apparently, it will not lead to anything here either. Apparently, the criminals themselves are confident of this. Here is a very recent example from the town of Senaki which is a Poti neighbor.

An attempt was made by the Georgian Supreme Court to set up a meeting here. Relatives of one of the participants in the affair, after deciding that all of this was pointless formality, assembled about 200 of his own supporters and attacked the accused in the meeting hall, thinking, apparently, to "settle" his fate independently. He was barely saved and was sent to the investigation isolation facility of the city of Kutaisi. But the story does not stop here. Some 800 more people joined those who were thirsting for a vendetta. They broke windows and doors in the people's court, the public prosecutor's office, and the Rayon Department of Internal Affairs. Then they set out for the building of the raykom [rayon party committee], they destroyed it and poured gasoline over it, and tried to set fire to it. When the militiamen arrived in time and succeeded in preventing this, the disenchanted crowd "rewarded" itself by blocking the railroad and for several hours obstructing train traffic...

The impression is created that authority in other local towns is already of the control of soviet and law enforcement organs. Then, who has it now? Who is directing the scandalous crowds?

The answers to these questions, apparently, could be given by the criminal "authorities"—"thieves in the law." We wrote about one of the leaders of the criminal world, Givi Rezan, born in these parts, who is the Golden Hand. His cousin-murderer, Dzhonni Dzhinchveladze, who was demoted for excessive cruelty even from the "thieves in the law," recently escaped (?) from the Kutaisi investigative isolation facility. His whereabouts are not known up to the present time.

And here are other "godfathers." The small town of Tskhakaya is represented by one Bardi, Roland Zugidi (of the Rezannyy family). Three "thieves in the law" with the nicknames Ashiya, Makhokhiya, and Lushkin, who is now dead, come from Tsulukidze. He was "knocked off" by Dzhonni.

Even in "quiet" Poti, today three "authoritative mafiosi" pass their time—Aleksandr, Murtaz, and Amiran, the most colorful of them, whose nickname is Diditavi, which translated from the Georgian means "big head." In a word, there was someone who could organize and conduct this sinister spectacle in Poti. The four hours that passed between the moment of Gvassaliya's death to the "attack on the militia" were quite enough to assemble and to teach the "high-handed" organs of internal affairs a regular lesson.

Georgian KGB Vows Support for 'Sovereignty'

PM1907102590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[INTERFAX report: "Georgian KGB Statement"]

[Text] A statement by the Georgian KGB has been read out on Georgian television. "On 7 June," it points out, "workers of the republic KGB were subjected to insults on the initiative of the League of Citizens of Georgia. This action increases the illusion that the KGB is supposedly opposed to Georgia's national movement." The document goes on to state: "We repeat once again that we support all decisions aimed at ensuring Georgia's sovereignty, as well as the resolutions adopted at the last session of the republic Supreme Soviet."

Central Asia

Current Osh Oblast Situation Updated

'Rapid Normalization' Demanded

LD2007100990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] We now want to turn to a worrying topic, and hand over to my colleague in Frunze, Aleksandr Mirtov.

[Mirtov] Thank you. You know that during the past 24 hours the situation here in Osh Oblast has not, unfortunately, changed for the better. The situation remains difficult in the oblast center itself, the town of Osh, and in a number of rayons in the oblast, where clashes have occurred between Uzbeks and Kirghiz. Gatherings of people demanding the rapid normalization of the sociopolitical situation have been seen both in Osh itself and in other rayons in the oblast—specifically, in Karusuyskiy and Alayskiy rayons. After explanatory conversations with those who have gathered, people normally disperse. But, typically, even in these crowds, there are bound to be extremist-minded elements trying to evoke in those assembled and negative attitude towards party, local soviet, and law-and-order bodies, spreading all kinds of rumors and gossip, and sowing the seeds of panic. The purpose here is clear—to cause fear, mistrust in one another, and a lack of confidence in tomorrow.

Here's just one small example. There is a rumor in Osh to the effect that several thousand people on horse and foot have gathered around the town, and there must inevitably be a clash between them and the townsfolk. In order to refute this fiction, a commission has been organized, comprising war and labor veterans, and elders. They were given the use of a helicopter, in which they flew over the town and the adjacent inhabited localities. Of course, they detected no gathering of people, either on horse or on foot.

A press centre of the republic's Interior Ministry is functioning, where journalists can always obtain exhaustive information. The ideological section of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party has organized a confidential telephone number from which, to any question about the trustworthiness of the various rumors, one can always obtain the truth.

Here's another typical detail to which I should like to draw attention. Ever since the start of the widespread disorders, 834 statements about missing persons have reached the Internal Affairs bodies. The whereabouts of 733 persons have already been established, with 120 of them being found in accordance with citizens' statement, which, in my view, indicates, first and foremost, people's wish that the protracted interethnic conflict should be resolved as soon as possible, as well as some political activity on their part. That, in brief, is the situation here today, in Osh Oblast.

Focus Shifts to Uzgen

LD1907215690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2015 GMT 19 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The situation in Osh Oblast remains tense. Our special correspondent reports:

[A. Poklad] The center of disturbances has perhaps shifted to the small town of Uzgen, which is situated near Osh. A Supreme Soviet commission has started work now. The republican leadership and commission members are meeting labor collectives and people and are holding rallies. Unfortunately, I think that this, perhaps, could have been foreseen. The conflict has deep roots which should be traced, primarily, to the calamitous social and economic situation of the population of both Kirghiz and Uzbek.

As regards figures, they remain the same, that is, 212 killed and about 1,400 injured. We will obtain new data in a few hours, toward the morning.

This is Aleksandr Poklad reporting from Osh for the Television News Service. [Video showing APCs on the streets, soldiers, food lines]

'Renewed' Rioting Reported

LD1907125890 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] There's been a renewed wave of riots in the town of Osh in southern Kirghizia which is the scene of continued confrontation between local residents and ethnic Uzbeks. Public buildings were set on fire, barricades put up in the streets, and street fights reported.

A big rally has been held in front of the district party committee building with protestors demanding a political assessment of the events, the release of detained rioters, resignation of the local government, and a solution to the social issues.

Tension still runs high in the town of Uzgen inhabited by mostly Uzbeks who prevent Kirghiz residents from returning to their homes there. A total of 204 people have died since the ethnic conflict in Kirghizia flared up.

UN Commission 'Demanded'

LD1807143990 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Text] Tensions have aggravated again in the Osh region of Kirghizia, which adjoins another Soviet republic in Central Asia, Uzbekistan. Clashes between Kirghiz and Uzbeks flared up some time ago. They were triggered by a conflict over the distribution of land for building houses. Now life in the city of Osh is virtually paralyzed once again. Plants, factories, and transport are at a standstill. Fights continue between Young Kirghiz and Ubzeks.

In another city of the region, Uzgen, which was left by the Kirghiz population, residents have demanded that a United Nations commission visit the area. Additional police and army units have been stationed in the Osh region.

Our correspondent (?Umar Bekov) comments:

Despite the steps taken by the authorities, fights, arson, and hooliganism in the region have not ceased. An excited crowd of women gathered in front of the regional Communist Party committee and called for replacing several party leaders and law enforcement officers.

Passions are running high in Uzgen where unrest has assumed particularly ugly shape. Acording to experts, the main reason for the conflict is the extremely low standards of living both among Uzbeks and Kirghiz. This can hardly be disputed. That the local authorities acted with a total lack of competence when distributing plots of land is also doubtless. They ignored the ethnic situation in the area. By giving plots of land only to young Kirghiz, they provoked riots among young Uzbeks, who were also in dire need of housing. Other reasons for the conflict include errors in the appointment of local officials, that is failure to take into account the ratio of residents belonging to one or another ethnic group, when forming government or law-enforcing bodies. Now there are hasty attempts to correct these errors by appointing Uzbeks, Russians, and people from other nationalities to high positions locally.

A number of prominent members of the Osh city and regional party committees have resigned. Many voiced the view that this maneuver was just an attempt to dodge responsibility and this only poured oil on the flames, since many connect the ethnic conflict with its primary causes, that is corruption, bribery and blackmarket, where high posts and profitable jobs are on sale. A large group of investigators from the prosecutor's office, the Interior Ministry, and KGB are making a thorough inquiry to present to courts of law and exact picture of mass atrocities and pogroms in the Osh region of Kirghizia, whose leaders boasted a short while ago that in contrast to the state of affairs in other areas engaged in the process of vigorous democratic renovation, the situation in the region was stable.

Tajik Supreme Soviet Scheduled To Meet 21 Aug

LD1907185590 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 0005 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Summary] The Presidium of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet decrees that the second session of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet be convened on 21 August 1990 in Dushanbe city.

The following topics will be discussed at the Supreme Soviet session:

1. The concept of changing to a regulated market economy.
2. A draft law on leasing.
3. A draft law on ownership in the Tajik SSR.
4. A draft Tajik SSR codex on land.
5. A draft law on local self-management and local economy in the Tajik SSR.
6. A draft law on amendments and addenda to the Tajik SSR Constitution.
7. A draft law on constitutional supervision.
8. The election of a Tajik SSR Constitutional Supervisory Committee.
9. A treaty on economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation between Uzbek SSR, Kazakh SSR, Kirgiz SSR, Tajik SSR, and Turkmen SSR.

NATO Officials Tour Turkestan, Uzbekistan

PM1807121790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jul 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Captain A. Veklich under the rubric "From Tashkent": "At the 'Roundtable'"]

[Text] A delegation from the North Atlantic Assembly's subcommittee for questions of the future of armed forces headed by W. Capuzzo, the subcommittee's chairman, has spent two days in the Uzbek capital. The USSR Supreme Soviet invited the delegation to our country.

In Uzbekistan the delegation was received at the republic's Supreme Soviet. Opinions were exchanged on questions of mutual interest. A "roundtable" debate cum conversation with North Atlantic Assembly representatives took place at the Turkestan Military District Military Council. Lieutenant General Yu. Bukreyev, chief of staff and first deputy commander of the district; Major General I. Furmanov, deputy chief of the district political directorate; generals, and staff and district directorate officers who took part told the guests about the developing processes of democratization and glasnost within troop collectives.

Many of the delegation members' questions concerned the Turkestan soldiers' daily life and service, particularly their social protection within the framework of the impending military reform. The guests received thorough answers to these and other questions and, in particular, questions concerning the procedure governing service by representatives of the Central Asian republics' and Kazakhstan's indigenous nationalities — on whose territories the district is located.

CPSU's Karimov Talks to Uzbek Party Activists

LD1807103990 Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian 0115 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Excerpts] The meeting held yesterday in Tashkent between Karimov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, the president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, and representatives from the activists of the republic was devoted to the results of the 28th CPSU Congress and the tasks ensuing from its decisions. [passage omitted]

Comrade Karimov spoke in detail on how the party forum proceeded and the difficult political struggle in it, in particular noting the constructive contribution of the Uzbek delegation in working out the decisions of the congress, and on the forthcoming tasks facing the communists of the republic.

At the end of his speech he said, "It is now necessary to mobilize all the healthy forces, to provide for the tackling of the tasks and the accummulated problems, to seek for real improvements in the life of the people. Only this, and only this can, comrades, preserve and strengthen the authority of the party, and vigorously move the people toward it. And this means providing for the implementation of all the decisions which were adopted at the 28th CPSU Congress."

Comrade Karimov answered the questions of the participants.